THE ADVENTURE OF THE AMERICAN PAST

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North-West Mounted Police

Oklahoma Land Rush

CLYDE HERON

"LEE CALLS ON HOOD'S TEXANS"

General Robert E. Lee inherited command of the beleaguered Confederate Army, May 31, 1862, when General Joseph E. Johnson was badly wounded at the Battle of Seven Pines (Fair Oaks)--one of the most mismanaged and disastrous actions of the war. This disaster, coupled with defeats in New Orleans, the far West, and on the Carolina coast, appeared to set the stage for the quick demise of the Confederate States of America.

Where Johnson assumed a defensive posture, Lee was to take the offensive. He capitalized on the torrential rains that had bogged down the Federal forces and on the paranoid actions of the Union General George B. McClellan who had been hoodwinked by the erroneous intelligence reports by the private detective Allan Pinkerton. Lee hit the Federal's Fifth Corps at Mechanicsville, north of Richmond, on June 26, but the Fifth Corps held its position. However, McClellan, true to form, ordered his troops to fall back to Gaines' Mill instead of hitting the weakened Richmond defenses.

A.P. Hill resumed the attack at noon on the 27th, followed by James Longstreet's division two hours later--both were repulsed.

The stalemate had to be broken. Lee needed a victory.

Checking his resources, Lee turned to General John Bell Hood. This was not an impulsive choice. Just seven weeks earlier, Hood's Texans had distinguished themselves at Eltham's Landing, near West Point. Of this skirmish General Samuel W. Melton wrote, "Here we first had a fair sample of your Texans, under Hood. They are, incomparably, the best fighters in the Confederacy; men upon whom one could depend under all circumstances--who seem to fight for the very love of it...Oh! that we had more of them."

General Hood recalled his meeting with Lee in his speech at the Sixth Annual Reunion of Hood's Texas Brigade Association, June 27, 1877. "At Gaines' Mill, we felt the keen edge of battle...I had ridden up to General Lee and that officer had said to me, 'General Hood, the enemy are here and we have not broken their lines, I want them off the field.' I replied that I believed if any troop could do it, my Brigade could."

Indeed they could---and did. With Hood at the head of his old Regiment, the Fourth Texas, the Texans gave Lee his first victory.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

This painting, now offered as an exciting limited edition print, is rendered with the accuracy and realism that is a Clyde Heron hallmark. He is an avid student of military history but is not satisfied to be a passive observer. He recently received a citation from Fort Concho National Historic Landmark which attests his active involvement in historical preservation.

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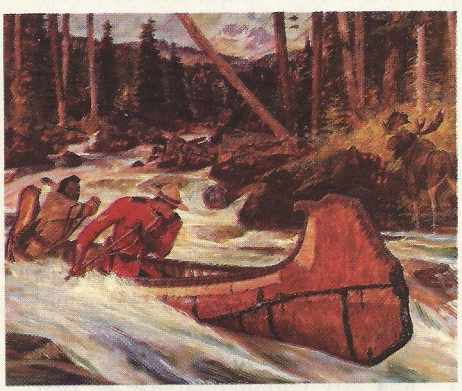

Cover

Paying tribute to Canada's North-West Mounted Police, Arnold Friberg's dramatic cover painting is one of some four hundred such artworks commissioned by the Northwest Paper Company in conjunction with its advertising campaign theme of dependability and performance. For an article and portfolio on the colorful "Mountie" collection, turn to page 32.

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Mailbox

Nixon Overcredited?

Who wrote that nonsensical trash in "History Today" ["Nixon Library and Birthplace Being Built," January 1989 issue] stating that one of Nixon's "significant presidential accomplishments" was "bringing an end to the Vietnam conflict"?

When Pierre Mendès-France decided to run for Premier of France he vowed that he would end France's involvement in Indochina within thirty days. He eventually succeeded.

Nixon, by comparison, took more than four years at a cost of well over twenty thousand American lives. Troop withdrawals coincided with his re-election efforts in 1972. People often condemn Nixon for Watergate, but forget his crass political motives for gradually pulling us out of that conflict in Southeast Asia. Had he withdrawn from Indochina within thirty days the result would have been the same as in 1975—a Communist takeover; but at far less cost in American lives and prestige.

Larry Vigon
Chicago, Illinois

Perhaps we should have stated that Nixon proponents credit him with having affected the withdrawal from Vietnam. The Editors.

Miracle Fiber

[As a textile designer], I enjoyed Roger Bruns's article "Of Miracles and Molecules" [December 1988 issue].

As a boy I visited the New York World's Fair just about every Saturday for two years. The Dupont Building and its exhibit was a special wonder. As I recall, beyond using nylon as a fiber for ladies' hosiery, Dupont did not know what to do with it. I remember having a ten-by-ten-inch sheet of nylon, one-eighth of an inch thick, used to demonstrate that the material was transparent, soft, malleable, and impervious to piercing or tearing. I don't believe this form of nylon had any commercial use at that time.

It might also be noted that many women managed to get through the war years with only one or two pairs of nylon stockings; the heavier yarn and wider-gauge knit then in use helped the hosiery to resist runs and snags.

More Aldeniana

Add to your December 1988 article, "John and Priscilla, We Hardly Know Ye":

John was also noted as being the finest cabinetmaker in the colony, and his work was in great demand. Alden was not one of the "Saints" [emigrating to America to escape religious persecution], but was hired for a year's service as the cooper of the *Mayflower*. He did become a zealous member of the church, and due to his religious convictions later became known as being most bigoted.

The episode on the Kennebec River had more repercussions. After arresting Alden for the murder of Hocking, the authorities in Boston refused to release him, planning to try him for the crime. Letters flew back and forth, and the Plymouth people threatened to take the case to court in London. Fearing that Archbishop Laud would get his finger into New England affairs and send a royal governor to rule, Boston then released Alden.

Later, as an assistant governor, Alden pursued Quakers and Baptists who were being driven out of Boston. His bigotry was unusual in that the Plymouth colonists were generally much more tolerant than the Boston Puritans.

John S.R. Turner
Warner, New Hampshire

Numerous Alden descendants and other readers have provided fascinating additional information and interpretations regarding the Alden legend. While Alicia Crane Williams's article could not cover every known aspect of the Pilgrim couple's life, we have tried to include in the "Mailbox" a representative sampling of these reader comments. The Editors.

Kennedy Quandary

In the welter of questions surrounding President John F. Kennedy's assassination, I am surprised

Continued on page 7

The most famous knife in American history.

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History Today

Northwest State Centennials

The Northwest Centennial of 1989-1990 recognizes and celebrates six adjoining states' admission to the Union one hundred years ago. North and South Dakota, Montana, and Washington became states in 1989, Idaho and Wyoming in 1990. A centennial commission in each state oversees events.

North Dakota

Dakota Territory was divided along the 46th parallel to create North and South Dakota, which were then admitted to the U.S. on November 2, 1889 as the thirty-ninth and fortieth states.

Special events this year include initiation of a project to plant one hundred million trees by the year 2000; Native American Day at Grand Forks, honoring the state's original inhabitants and their descendants (April 5); an All Veterans Centennial Memorial on the capitol grounds; reconstruction of the Custer House in Mandan; a statewide photo project depicting North Dakota life, to appear as a traveling exhibition; and the state fair, featuring the centennial as its theme. For a complete listing of events write the North Dakota Centennial Commission, 2204 East Broadway, Bismarck, North Dakota 58501, or telephone 701-224-2589.

South Dakota

Major centennial events planned for South Dakota include construction of the Cultural Heritage Center in Pierre; completing restoration of the capitol in Bismarck; the 1989 Centennial Wagon Train that will travel throughout the state, re-creating pioneer-era transportation (May-September); the 475-mile Lewis and Clark Trail Run with up to 150 runners traveling in relays (June 4-10); creation of a 111-mile Centennial Trail primarily for non-motorized travel; and a Statehood Day re-enactment of the first gubernatorial inauguration at Watertown (November 2). For a complete listing write the South Dakota Centennial Commission, Capitol Building, Pierre, South Dakota 57501, or telephone 605-773-4036.

Montana

The forty-first state entered the Union on November 8, 1889, following twenty-five years as a U.S. territory.

Citizens of Anaconda, 1894 runner-up to Helena in a heated contest for site of the state capital, have petitioned the state "to declare the 1894 election . . . to be invalid and therefore schedule a special election between the two cities in conjunction with the Montana Centennial celebration." Other events include dedicating a new addition to the Museum of the Rockies and the historic Tinley Homestead in Bozeman (April); the Black Robe Mission eighty-day horseback trek tracing routes of the early Jesuits (June-August); and Admissions Day celebrations in Helena on November 8. For a complete listing write the Montana Statehood Centennial Office, P.O. Box 1989, Helena, Montana 59620, or telephone 406-444-1989.

Washington

In 1889 a horseback messenger in Olympia delivered a November 11 telegram from President Benjamin Harrison announcing Washington's admission to the U.S. A similar message from President Ronald Reagan arrived by horseback messenger at the capitol on November 11, 1988, kicking off the state's centennial celebration.

Notable Washington centennial events include "A Time of Gathering," an exhibition of rare native American arts and culture at the University of Washington's Burke Museum (April 1-October 1); a statewide mock constitutional convention for high school students at the state capital (August 14-17); the Commemorative Constitution Stagecoach Mail Run, carrying a copy of the original draft of the state constitution from Walla Walla to Olympia (May 13-22); four centennial wagon trains visiting towns and cities statewide; and summer centennial games throughout the state (third week of August). For a complete listing write the Washington Centennial Commission, 111 West 21st Avenue, Olympia, Washington 98504, or telephone 206-586-1989. ★

Mailbox

(Continued from page 4)

that two points have apparently not been raised.

First, if Oswald acted alone, why didn't he fire at Kennedy as Kennedy's car approached the School Book Depository building when (a) the target was growing larger in Oswald's gunsights; (b) when the motorcade was traveling on a straight and level course toward Oswald; and (c) with Oswald aiming directly (and comfortably) out the window?

Instead, Oswald allegedly fired at a moving target that was growing smaller in his sights; on a curving and downward route; with Oswald aiming at an (uncomfortably) acute angle from his window perch.

The fact that Oswald allegedly chose the latter, less logical angle of fire indicates his acting in concert with another gunman behind the grassy knoll; the co-assassin would not have nearly as good a view of Kennedy when the motorcade approached the Depository as he did when the motorcade passed the knoll.

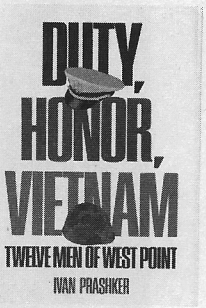
Second, of the two bullets that struck Kennedy, only the second exploded upon penetration [according to the official autopsy]. It seems strange for one gunman to use two different types of bullets in the same ammunition clip. But if Oswald did use two different types, would he not have used the explosive and more deadly round for his first shot, which should be his best?

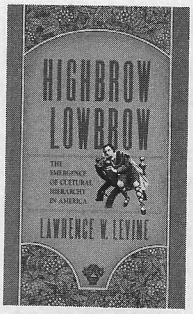
[In my opinion,] his not doing so implies a second gunman. Oswald, not being an expert shot, assumedly was not entrusted with the more dangerous ammunition while the grassy knoll gunman was, since it was his [the second gunman's] shot that was expected to be the accurate one.

Jay Evans
San Jose, California

The editors welcome comments from our readers. While we endeavor to publish a representative sampling of this correspondence, we regret that limited space prevents us from printing every letter. Publication of reader comments does not necessarily imply editorial endorsement of the views expressed. Address correspondence to The Mailbox, American History Illustrated, Box 8200, Harrisburg, PA 17105. ★

History Bookshelf





Duty, Honor, Vietnam: Twelve Men of West Point by Ivan Prashker *(William Morrow, New York City, 1988; 428 pages, $19.95).*

Seeking to discover how the United States Military Academy and its graduates were affected by the Vietnam War, Ivan Prashker interviewed twelve former West Pointers—active and retired officers now in their forties to sixties—who had served in that conflict. Each man tells a unique story about his days at West Point and subsequent career in the service of his country. Their varied reactions to events common in their experience, particularly their reflections on Vietnam, provide a narrow but nonetheless worthwhile perspective from which to examine both the Academy and the war in Southeast Asia.

The First of Men: A Life of George Washington by John E. Ferling *(University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, 1988; 598 pages, illustrated, $39.95).*

Myth and legend have elevated George Washington to the rank of demigod in American history. In this book, West Georgia College history professor John E. Ferling examines not only the first president's admirable qualities but also his character flaws. Ferling argues persuasively that Washington was "a self-centered and self-absorbed man, one who since youth had exhibited a fragile self-esteem." But Washington also possessed many virtues respected by his generation —including courage, self-scrutiny, organizational abilities, and vitality—and was able to take on responsibilities lesser men would have shirked. The author used material from the new George Washington Papers project at the University of Virginia in his research. A chapter from this volume was published in the April 1988 issue of *American History Illustrated.*

Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America by Lawrence W. Levine *(Harvard University Press, Cambridge and London, 1988; 306 pages, illustrated, $25.00).*

Through much of the nineteenth century, numerous expressive forms of culture now considered "highbrow"—including Shakespearean drama, opera, orchestral music, and the works of writers such as Longfellow—enjoyed high status and widespread popularity in America. This book examines the transitional forces that have led to a more hierarchical and less open public culture, one that today distinguishes between "high" and "low" art, thereby occasionally overlooking or underrating the value of such popular artists as Norman Rockwell and movie director Frank Capra. This book provides an interesting, sometimes complex examination of culture and cultural change in American society.

The Babe: A Life in Pictures by Lawrence S. Riter and Mark Rucker *(Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1988; 282 pages, illustrated, $40.00).*

George Herman "Babe" Ruth, often affectionately called the greatest baseball player of all time, is here portrayed through period photographs accompanied by a lively essay on the athlete's life. An outstanding section of color posters and "Babe" memorabilia enhances the oversized volume.

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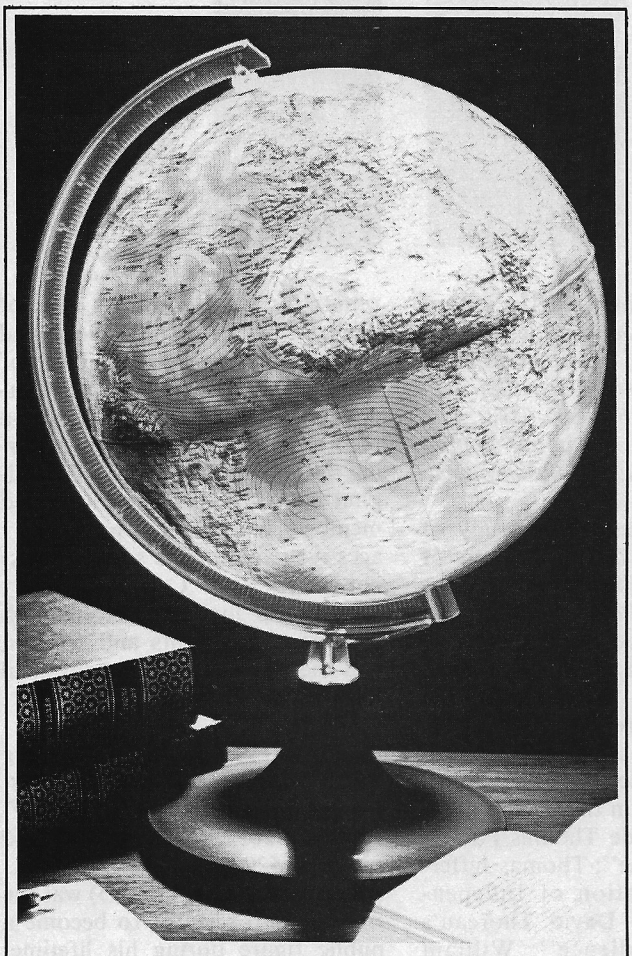

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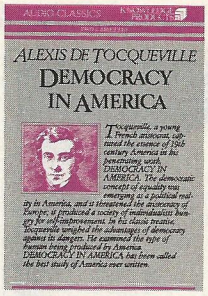


Alexis de Toqueville's Democracy in America *(Knowledge Products, 1717 Elm Hill Pike, P.O. Box 100340, Nashville, Tennessee 37210, 615-889-6223; two audio cassettes, each about 60 minutes, $14.95 plus $2.00 shipping/handling).*

Toqueville's classic 1831 study of America—here featured as one of twenty-four cassettes in the series *The Giants of Political Thought*—examined the new political force of democracy. The French nobleman was alarmed by "the tyranny of the majority," but felt certain that democracy would supplant European aristocracy. Other literary/political works featured in this Audio Classics series include Thomas Paine's "Common Sense"; Thomas Jefferson's "Declaration of Independence"; Henry David Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience"; William Lloyd Garrison's "The Liberator"; Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations"; John Stuart Mill's "On Liberty"; Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin's "Vindication of the Rights of Woman"; Machiavelli's "The Prince"; Karl Marx's "Communist Manifesto"; Edmund Burke's "Reflections on the Revolution"; Thomas Hobbes's "Leviathan"; John Locke's "Two Treatises of Government"; and Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay's "The Federalist Papers."

The Red Baron *(Questar/TravelNetwork, Inc., P.O. Box 11345, Chicago, Illinois 60611, 312-266-9400; VHS or Beta, 60 minutes, $29.95).*

Three-quarters of a century ago, Manfred Von Richthofen, the legendary "dogfighting Red Baron," raised aerial combat tactics to a deadly science, earning himself a reputation as Germany's Ace of Aces, nemesis to Allied fliers, and the greatest aerial tactician of World War I. Through rare footage, the Red Baron's exploits—a record eighty planes downed during the Great War—soar to life. Vignettes of Richthofen's squad members plus other World War I aces such as America's Eddie Rickenbacker and Canada's Billy Bishop are included, along with footage of dogfights and crashes, and the Red Baron's controversial final flight.

Einstein *(Vestron Video, 60 Long Ridge Road, P.O. Box 4000, Stamford, Connecticut 06907, 203-967-7200 ext 2652; VHS or Beta, 60 minutes, $29.98).*

Albert Einstein (1879-1955) was the first modern scientist to become a public figure during his lifetime. The German Jew, whose relativity theories changed human history, spent years as a patents clerk before his revolutionary scientific ideas were publicly recognized. The Nobel Prize laureate fled to America at the beginning of World War II and spent the remainder of his career at prestigious Princeton University. Little-remembered today is his role as a political rebel who considered his pacifist views as important as his general theory of relativity. In this outstanding biographical film, period stills and movies show Einstein that role as well as in his better-known stance as "the embodiment of European civilization." His limited and reluctant involvement with America's race to develop nuclear arms is contrasted with scientists who enthusiastically devoted their careers to this pursuit. Clips of his family and gatherings with friends make Einstein real to current viewers. ★

Bookshelf

The Courage of Their Convictions: Sixteen Americans Who Fought Their Way to the Supreme Court by Peter Irons *(The Free Press, New York City, 1988; 420 pages, $22.95).*
Can the ordinary American citizen protect his or her Constitutional rights? Peter Irons, a lawyer and activist who himself challenged the U.S. judicial system as a 1960s draft objector, here presents the first-person narratives of sixteen Americans whose acts of resistance or affirmation ultimately led to review of their petitions by the U.S. Supreme Court. Race, religion, protest, and privacy were the critical issues at stake for these individuals who, with few exceptions, were as obscure as their Supreme Court cases were famous: Gordon Hirabayashi in 1942 challenged military curfew and exclusion orders preceding the mass detention of 120,000 Americans of Japanese descent; Susan Epperson challenged Arkansas's "Scopes" law barring the teaching of evolution; J.D. Shelley, a black construction worker, fought against a covenant barring his family from an all-white neighborhood. These and others followed their convictions to the ultimate judicial power in the country. Some won, others lost; all influenced American society and law.

Television by Michael Winship with an introduction by Edwin Newman *(Random House, New York City and Toronto, 1988; 372 pages, illustrated, $19.95).*
Television was not invented by any one person at any single moment; rather, it was developed in many countries over several decades. Now, about a half-century after crude television became a reality, it has changed our world—some say for the better, some for the worse. This generously illustrated companion book to the PBS series of the same name that aired in January 1989 details the development of the remarkable invention that "has covered the planet, becoming a global power with a profound impact on everything from buying habits and fashion styles to politics and language." Featured are interviews with key television personalities and producers. ★

For John Adams, serving as the nation's first vice president was both frustrating and rewarding. He was powerless and ignored, but viewed the office as a steppingstone to the presidency.

"An Office of Unprofitable Dignity"

by John E. Ferling

NEVER IN HIS WILDEST DREAMS had John Adams anticipated the fuss that would be made over him when he returned to the United States from Europe. The *Lucretia*, a British vessel, carried John and Abigail Adams into Boston harbor on June 17, 1788, nearly ten years after that cold winter morning in 1779 when, as his country's representative, he had sailed for France to negotiate an end to the War for Independence.

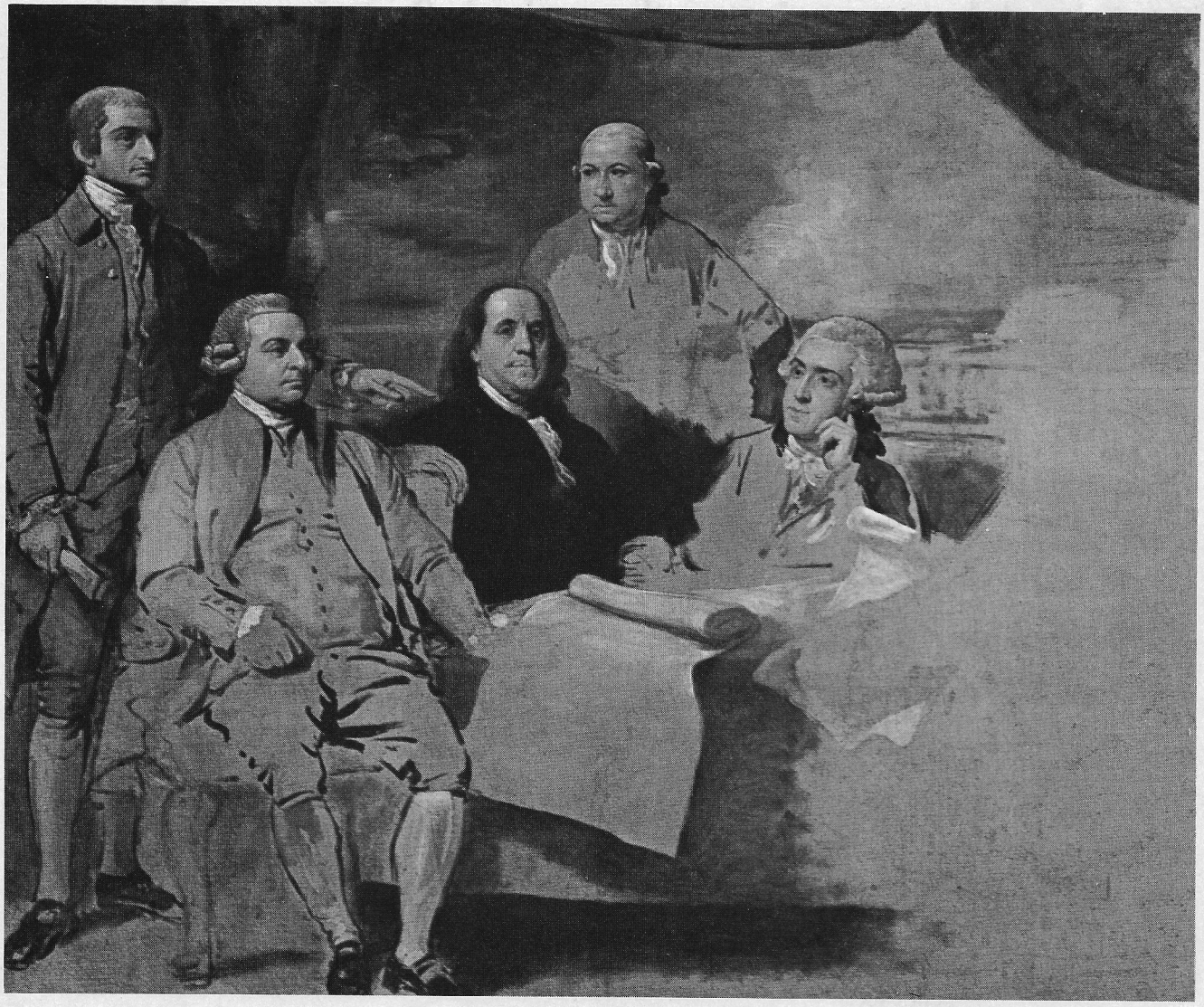
To Adams's surprise, thundering cannon and the decorous peal of church bells ushered the ship to dockside. More startling, John Hancock, now Massachusetts governor, waited to greet him at the foot of the gangplank.

That, Adams soon discovered, was only the beginning of his triumphant return. During the next several weeks he was approached about holding virtually every important office in the land, each of which—except the presidency of the United States, which was reserved for George Washington—appeared to be his for the asking.

Much had occurred during his absence. Peace had come and American independence had been secured. Two United States constitutions had been written; the first, the Articles of Confederation, was still the national charter, although eight states had ratified a new constitution, the product of a 1787 convention in Philadelphia.

Adams had also been busy. In addition to negotiating the peace treaty, he had served the interests of the United States at Paris and The Hague. Since 1785 he had been the American minister to Great Britain.

PORTRAIT OF JOHN ADAMS BY MATHER BROWN, PAINTED IN 1788, PRIOR TO THE DIPLOMAT'S RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES FROM LONDON
COURTESY OF THE BOSTON ATHENAEUM



John Adams's years of diplomatic service abroad included negotiation of the treaty that ended the Revolutionary War. Adams, second from left above, posed for painter Benjamin West in 1873 with American delegates John Jay, Benjamin Franklin, Henry Laurens, and secretary William Temple Franklin.

Now, back in the United States, Adams made no immediate commitments. A virtual stranger to America, he first wished to assess the situation. He was uncertain whether a state or federal post under the new Constitution, which was ratified eight days following his return, would be more prestigious. He also wanted to relax and tend to personal business, which included moving into a new residence.

Six months before their return to America, the Adamses had purchased a new home, a spacious dwelling about a mile north of the cramped saltbox house in Braintree [near Quincy], Massachusetts that they had owned since their marriage in 1764. They paid six hundred pounds—the equivalent of a decade's wages for a skilled artisan—for the new house and property, but thought it worth the price. Not only was the home large enough to accommodate the numerous pieces of furniture they had purchased in Europe, but the eighty-three acres of land surrounding it (about twice the size of their old property) could become a productive farm, something the fifty-seven-year-old Adams had to consider for the day he finally retired from public life. John named his habitation "Peacefield," for after the frenetic bustle that had characterized life in the legations abroad, this residence was the essence of tranquility.

The first order of private business for the Adamses, however, was to see their sons. John had not seen his youngest son, Thomas Boylston, in nine years. Now sixteen years old and a student at Harvard College, Thomas had been so embittered at the protracted separation from his parents that he had declined to answer their letters, pleading that he simply had no idea what he might write.

Son Charles, now eighteen, had accompanied his father to France, but, terribly homesick, had returned to Braintree in 1781. He, too, was a Harvard student.

John Quincy, the eldest son at age twenty-one, had also sailed with his father in 1779, and had remained abroad for six years, first studying in France and the Netherlands, then serving as a secretary to Francis Dana on a mission to St. Petersburg. He had not seen either of his parents since returning to Massachusetts three years earlier to complete his studies at Harvard.

While John and Abigail were still enjoying Hancock's hospitality at the Governor's Mansion, the boys hurried to Boston for the long-awaited reunion—Thomas and Charles crossing over from Cambridge, John Quincy riding down from Newburyport, where he was clerking in a law office. For the first time in nearly a decade all three boys were with their parents; never again after 1788 would such a reunion occur.

WITHIN THIRTY DAYS of his return, Adams grew weary of his idleness. He had visited with old friends, climbed the familiar hills and sought out his old haunts around Braintree, and devoted some time to planning the rejuvenation of his newly purchased farmlands. By the end of July he was meeting with local politicians and thinking of his future.

Adams briefly considered returning to the law practice he had largely abandoned fifteen years earlier, but he rejected that alternative in favor of remaining in public life. His quandary, therefore, was not whether to accept a political office, but to choose which position he thought most suitable for a person of his stature. Finally he reached a decision: he would accept nothing but the vice-presidency of the United States. Any other office he deemed to be "beneath himself," as Abigail put it.

Adams's election to the vice-presidency was by no means assured. Governor Hancock and New York Governor George Clinton each had some supporters, and the names of Adams's friends, Generals Henry Knox and Benjamin Lincoln, even came up, although when Adams made clear his interest in the office their candidacies vanished overnight.

John Jay's name was also mentioned for the vice-presidency. Like Adams, Jay had served abroad for several years, and following his return had not only become secretary of foreign affairs during the last years of the Confederation but had played a major role in the ratification of the new federal Constitution.

But Adams possessed some advantages over the other aspirants. New England would cast a huge block of electoral votes, and there was little doubt whom that region would support. Jay and Clinton, moreover, were bitter rivals in their home state of New York, and the governor's strength there was such that he could probably keep Jay from carrying it. Clinton, on the other hand, was an unlikely vice-presidential choice, for he had recently opposed New York's ratification of the Constitution.

Adams was universally regarded as a man of integrity, one who was known to respect Washington, and one who likely could work well with him. And the former diplomat had one additional advantage. As James Madison suggested, Adams, the only candidate who did not presently hold a public office, was the person most likely to relish the "unprofitable dignity" of the vice-presidency.

AS ADAMS'S OPPOSITION COLLAPSED during the autumn of 1788, some politicians expressed fear that he and Washington might receive an equal number of electoral votes. This would force the issue to the House of Representatives—an occurrence that most hoped to spare the general. The voting procedure mandated by the original Constitution raised the likelihood of this situation. Under that system, each elector was to cast two ballots without designating which was for the presidency or vice-presidency. The individual receiving the largest number of votes, if these amounted to a majority of the ballots cast, would become president; the runner-up was to be vice president.

To remove any possibility of the canvass being left to the House, some political leaders, principally New York's Alexander Hamilton, labored throughout the winter to strip Adams of a few votes to ensure Washington's unanimous selection.

Hamilton's machinations were almost *too* successful. When the returns of the electoral college—which met in March 1789—were tallied, it was discovered that Washington had been unanimously elected president, receiving votes from all sixty-nine electors. Adams had received thirty-four votes—enough to give him second place and the vice-presidency. Ten other men, including Hancock, Jay, and South Carolina's John Rutledge, divided the remaining votes.

Adams was deeply wounded to learn that fewer than half of the electors thought him entitled to the nation's second post. In a melancholy mood, he spoke of the election as a "stain" upon his character, and he even briefly entertained the thought of refusing the office. Soon, however, he abandoned this notion.

ADAMS DEPARTED FOR NEW YORK in mid-April 1789, beginning what was to become ironically both a long, frustrating epoch in his career and a period of relative happiness. He was given a hero's sendoff in Boston, and, as he passed through the little New England villages en route to the capital, he was feted and cheered in a manner he had seldom experienced.

Reaching New York City a few days before General Washington, Adams was immediately sworn in as vice president. The ceremony, performed in Federal Hall—New York's former City Hall, recently refurbished and enlarged to serve as the nation's new Capitol—was simple. Only the members of the Senate were present, and they alone heard Adams deliver what Pennsylvania Senator William Maclay described as a dull and uninspiring inaugural address.

At month's end Washington at last arrived from Virginia, and on the thirtieth of April the first president was inaugurated in another simple ceremony. Festivities commenced with prayer services at 9 A.M., followed at

noon by a parade from Washington's residence to Federal Hall. Adams waited in the Senate chamber for the president-elect, and upon his arrival opened the ritual with a few remarks; witnesses described the vice president as nervous and trembling so badly that he spoke with difficulty.

Washington then stepped onto a balcony overlooking Broad and Wall streets, where he took the oath of office. When the cheering stopped, he returned to face the joint Congress and slowly, almost inaudibly, read an address of only seven paragraphs. At its conclusion—the ceremony lasted less than twenty minutes—the entire government walked a half-mile to St. Paul's Chapel, an Anglican church, for a brief service.

In the days that followed, while Washington pondered his cabinet appointments, Adams was approached by many old friends who sought positions in the new federal government. For the most part, he simply passed their applications on to the president, for only the chief executive possessed real patronage powers.

In two instances, however, Adams appears to have truly sought to help supplicants. Ebenezer Storer, the husband of a woman Adams had courted before he met Abigail, had fallen on hard times and beseeched the vice president's assistance. Adams confessed that the news of his old flame's misfortune caused him "many melancholy hours," but his efforts to secure an appointment for Storer were unrewarded.

Adams also worked diligently to find a place for General Benjamin Lincoln, an old friend from Massachusetts who had loyally supported him in the recent election, but again the vice president's efforts failed. Indeed, his good intentions succeeded only in arousing bitterness among Lincoln's political foes in Boston.

ADAMS'S PRINCIPAL RESPONSIBILITY as vice president was to preside over the Senate, and his actions during his first test in this capacity caused him considerable political harm. At issue was the question of the proper title to use when addressing the new president. This matter seems trivial today, but contemporaries saw in it nothing less than a statement of the republicanism of the new government. Washington, conscious that his every act would establish a precedent for his successors, was uncertain as to what conduct was appropriate as president, even in the simplest matters. For instance, should he accept dinner invitations to the homes of friends? Would it be proper for him to invite acquaintances to dine with him and Martha? In short, should he make the presidency into a formal, aloof, virtually monarchical office, or should he strive to be an open, accessible chief executive?

The Senate took up the question of the presidential title immediately after the inaugural ceremony. Virginia's Richard Henry Lee instigated the discussion, probably at Washington's behest. In the debate that ensued, Adams clearly sought not merely to preside over but to lead the Senate. Seated before a score or so of senators in the thirty-by-forty-foot chamber dominated by a ceiling mural depicting a sun and thirteen stars, Adams urged that the chief executive be called "His Highness, the President of the United States of America, and Protector of the Rights of the Same." He differed sharply with those who took issue with such a monarchical title, and in private supported "His Highness" as the very minimum title due the president, once even urging the foolish-sounding, honorific "His Most Benign Highness."

Such titles seemed silly—even dangerous—to many, but they were a logical component of Adams's thinking. Titles were used every day. Children referred to "mother" and "father." Servants addressed their masters as "Sir" or "Madam." Titles, he felt, were a means of bolstering deference and respect. A kingly title, moreover, would elevate the dignity of the presidency and invest the office with a magisterial aura that would help to make the national government truly sovereign over the state governments.

Coming from another source, the suggestions might have been passed off as merely ill-advised, or, at worst, as "superlatively ridiculous," as Thomas Jefferson remarked when he learned of the vice president's recommendations. But coming as they did from Adams, the statements aroused scorn and ridicule.

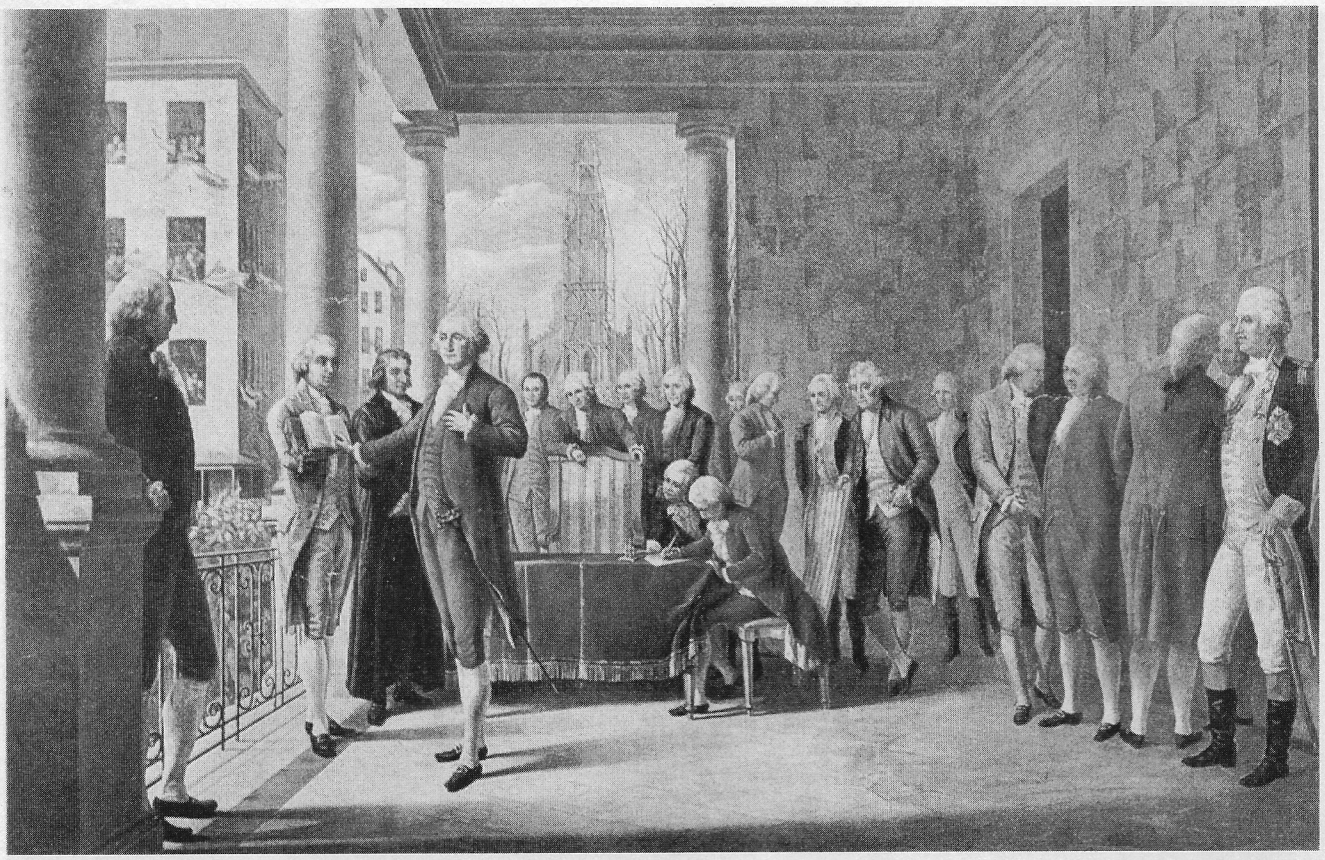
During his last full year as ambassador to the Court of St. James, Adams had published a huge tome entitled *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America*. In this work he appeared to argue the necessity of an aristocratic branch in every government. Rigid property qualifications for voting and holding office would insure that only the privileged would have entrée to such a branch, an entity that would be useful for counterbalancing commoners, who would dominate another branch of the government.

Some in the United States had immediately taken exception to Adams's views, asserting that in America there was no place for "such thing[s] as orders, ranks, or nobility." Adams denied that he had meant to urge the creation of an American aristocracy, apparently convincing most critics that he was sincere. But now the vice president, who comported himself in much the same manner as Europe's high royal officials,* was urging the use of an aristocratic-sounding title for the chief executive.

His stance on the titles question cost Adams dearly. He became an object of derision, lampooned as "the Duke of Braintree" and "His Rotundity." He waged a losing fight, too; the Senate ultimately rejected his unrepublican-sounding designations in favor of an eminently simple title: "The President of the United States."

The mockery that Adams incurred during the title controversy suggested that it would be prudent for

**Following the examples he had observed in London, Adams habitually presided over the Senate adorned in a powdered wig, wore a sword on ceremonial occasions, and had himself driven to work each morning in a large, expensive carriage.*



When George Washington was inaugurated at New York's Federal Hall as the nation's first president on April 30, 1789, Adams was already serving as vice president, having been sworn in at a quiet ceremony immediately following his arrival in the capital several days earlier.

him to sequester his thoughts in the future. Instead, like a moth attracted to a flame, he improvidently hurried to commit to paper his ideas on government, evidently hoping to explain himself to the American people. He succeeded only in raising new questions about his commitment to republicanism.

Beginning in 1790 he issued "Discourses on Davila," a string of newspaper essays in which he not only argued that an aristocracy was inevitable, but that only a hereditary monarchy would prove capable of checking that privileged class. In his final essay, he even contended that hereditary monarchy was attended by "fewer evils" than a republican chief executive. Hereditary monarchy was "the true answer, and the only one."

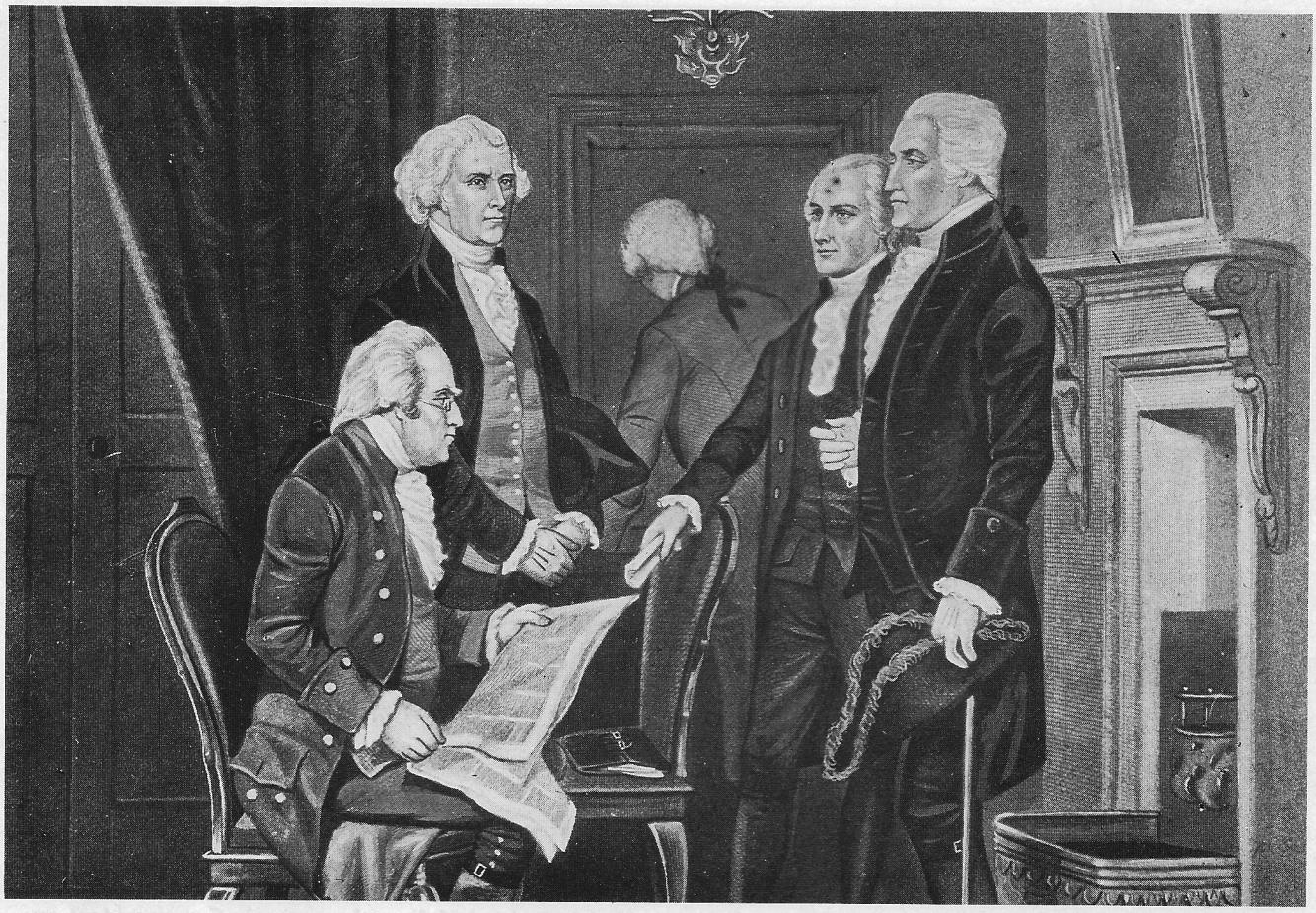
"Davila" aroused a storm of protest, compelling Adams once again to deny the meaning of the essays he had written. He had only meant to suggest, he said, that monarchical government might someday be necessary. He did not think that a change was imminent, and, in fact, he believed the new Constitution should be given a "fair play." Later, when he collected the thirty-two "Davila" essays and republished them in one volume, Adams prudently omitted the final tract, the installment in which he seemed most urgently to insist upon the desirability of hereditary monarchy.

WHEN ADAMS PRIVATELY TOLD FRIENDS that he believed "Our ship must ultimately land on that shore," meaning that hereditary monarchy ultimately would replace a republican presidency in the United States, he did not do so because he found fault with Washington's policies; Adams loyally and cheerfully supported the administration's principal domestic and foreign programs. Whereas some contemporary political leaders—Jefferson, for instance—revered Washington, and others, such as Aaron Burr and perhaps even Hamilton, disliked him or thought him unimaginative and lacking in talent, Adams respected and admired the president.

In private, however, Adams sometimes carped at the excessive adulation of Washington, and once he enviously charged that the "History of our Revolution will be 'that Dr. Franklin's electrical Rod smote the Earth and out sprung General Washington. That Franklin electricized him with his rod—and henceforth these two conducted all the Policy, Negotiations, Legislatures and War.'"

But Adams's envy of Washington's popularity did not diminish his appreciation of the Virginian's talents. He had questioned neither Washington's courage nor his generalship during the recent war. Adams found Washington's decision-making processes somewhat slow, al-

"FIRST IN WAR, FIRST IN PEACE, FIRST IN THE HEARTS OF HIS COUNTRYMEN"; COURTESY OF THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, NEW YORK CITY



George Washington and his advisers (including Henry Knox, Thomas Jefferson, and Alexander Hamilton, above) rarely sought the vice president's advice on substantive matters, and John Adams generally had to be content with taking part in ceremonial functions and presiding over the Senate.

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though he believed the president usually made the proper choice. He praised Washington's facility for self-control and his ability to understand himself. Adams was certain that the president was unequaled in intuitively understanding others. Washington possessed "Talents of a very Superior kind," the vice president concluded: "I wish I had as good."

Washington and Adams jointly executed many more of the executive branch's ceremonial undertakings than would be likely for today's president and vice president. For instance, Adams frequently attended Washington's levees and dinner parties; he accompanied the president on a portion of his New England tour in the fall of 1789; and the two even appeared together at a Columbia University commencement exercise.

The contrast between these two leaders must have startled their audiences. Washington was graceful, tall, and well-proportioned (six feet, four inches in height, weighing 210 pounds even in his last years), while Adams was about five feet, six inches tall and plump (he had described himself as "short, thick, fat" when he was twenty-five, and he was no less stout in middle age). The two were quite different in other respects, as well. Adams was contemplative and something of a loner, whereas Washington was an aggressive, energetic businessman-farmer who read relatively little and was happiest when he was physically active.

Because of their differences, Adams and Washington were never close friends. Nevertheless, they enjoyed one another's company. Adams sometimes dined with the Washingtons, and when Abigail or one of the boys was in the capital, the entire family was occasionally invited to dine at the presidential mansion. From time to time Washington requested the vice president's presence for a late afternoon cup of tea, and on several occasions Adams was the president's companion on long horseback rides and during evenings at the theater.

IN SPITE OF THEIR CORDIAL RELATIONSHIP and Adams's long years of service, the vice president played virtually no decision-making role in Washington's administration, and the president and his cabinet rarely sought Adams's advice.

Washington looked upon Hamilton, his treasury secretary, as the linchpin of the administration. The president's goal was to create a sovereign central government capable of "vigorous execution," the sort of entity he had yearned for since those bleak days during the war

when he had been compelled to look upon his cold, hungry, unpaid, and potentially unwilling soldiers. Hamilton's daring economic program of funding and assuming the national and state debts, creating a national bank, and securing an excise tax on whiskey constituted the first step toward the realization of Washington's dreams. Vice President Adams played no role in the formation or enactment of these measures.

Adams no doubt shared the views of Washington and Hamilton, however, and he defended the president's decision to suppress the "Whiskey Rebels," western farmers who resisted the payment of Hamilton's excise tax; he labeled this frontier protest a "wicked rebellion" staged by "miserable" pro-French democrats.

By the time Hamilton's economic program had been enacted, foreign policy concerns preoccupied the president. During the week of Washington's inauguration, the French parliament, the Estates General, met for the first time in 175 years in the hope that its members could find the means to extricate France from staggering indebtedness. Soon, however, the reforms initiated by the Estates General touched off the second great western revolution of the eighteenth century. Within three years France was at war with its neighbors, including Great Britain. France had launched this great conflict both to export its revolutionary ideals and to prevent the reactionary monarchies of Europe from destroying the French Revolution.

Whatever the cause of the war, a conflict between the two great European powers having possessions and ambitions in North America and the Caribbean inevitably affected the interests of the United States. But despite Adams's years of service in both Paris and London, the administration again largely ignored the vice president.

Adams's views appear to have been sought on only two foreign policy matters during his entire vice-presidency. Washington twice conferred with him during a war scare between Great Britain and Spain in 1790; Adams urged United States neutrality if hostilities commenced between those European powers.

Three years later, difficulties stemming from the mission of French minister Edmond Genêt prompted the president to seek Adams's counsel. Genêt arrived in Philadelphia in mid-1793 and immediately took action designed to rally the supposedly non-aligned American people behind beleaguered France. By year's end, he actively sought to raise an army of Southern frontiersmen to attack Spanish Florida.

Washington may have turned to the vice president in this instance because Adams had experience with the French; the president might even have believed Adams was likely to be more objective than Secretary of State Jefferson, whose affinity for the French and their revolution was suspect in some circles. Adams's views may also have been elicited because of his friendship with Genêt's father during his embassy to Paris in 1780-81. Whatever the reason, Adams and Washington met twice and conferred for several hours in an "affectionate" manner, as the vice president described the sessions. What Adams recommended is not certain, but his advice was of no consequence, for within hours of the second meeting word arrived from Paris that Genêt had been recalled.

The vice president played no role in the administration's decision to proclaim the neutrality of the United States during the war in Europe. Although Adams had served as his country's first minister to Great Britain, Washington did not seek his advice about sending John Jay to London on a 1794 peace mission. Nor did the president consult Adams before he submitted the Jay Treaty to the Senate for ratification, even though the vice president presided over that body. Similarly, while Washington and his advisers were compelled to make many difficult decisions concerning Indian policy, Adams was never brought into the discussions.

Adams's few powers, therefore, were almost entirely confined to his constitutional role as presiding officer of the Senate. During the premier session of the first Congress, he sought to expand his authority by participating in an occasional debate, but the practice irritated many senators, who believed that his conduct was an abuse of his prescribed duties.

During that initial session, Adams also fell into the habit of lecturing his audience, often attempting to explain the customs of the British Parliament, no doubt hoping the Senate would adopt the time-honored practices of that distant legislature. His listeners resented these homilies even more than his involvement in their deliberations, and soon Adams forswore all activity save actually presiding over the Senate and voting when that body was "equally divided," as the Constitution put it.

Adams cast the tie-breaking vote at least thirty-one times during his eight years as vice president, often on matters that strengthened the powers of the new national government. On five separate occasions he was compelled to decide the fate of legislation seeking a permanent United States capital. His vote defeated passage of a navigation bill that would have boycotted the importation of British commodities until ports in that empire were opened to American vessels. Perhaps his most important tie-breaking vote authorized the president to remove joint executive-senate appointees, a grant of power bitterly resisted by many senators who believed that an individual placed in office through the "advice and consent" of the Senate should be dismissed only if the Senate confirmed such an action.

GIVEN ADAMS'S EXPERIENCE, his positive feelings for Washington, and his unswerving endorsement of the president's policies, it is surprising that he was not permitted to play a greater policy-making role. Of course, any leader must find advisers with whom he can work comfortably, and Washington relied more on Hamilton and Knox, whom he had known and trusted in the Continental Army, and on Jefferson, a fellow Virginian with whom he had become familiar before his presidency.

By contrast, Adams and Washington had served together briefly in the Congress in 1774 and 1775, but they had not shared committee assignments nor grown close, and they were never in one another's presence during the dozen years preceding Washington's inauguration. Adams's manner, moreover, was to be frank and candid, frequently even piquant, while Washington preferred more deferential habits in those close to him.

Washington may even have been unaware that he and his vice president shared so many views. In the spring of 1796, the seventh year of Washington's presidency, Adams dined with the chief executive one evening and, to his amazement, discovered that Washington's "opinions and sentiments are more exactly like mine than I ever knew before."

Hamilton, who viewed Adams as a rival to lead the Federalist Party in the post-Washington era, might have subtly used his influence to block the vice president's access to Washington. Adams seems not to have suspected such behavior by the treasury secretary, however, and their relationship—what there was of it—appears to have been cordial but formal. Adams supported Hamilton's economic programs and lauded him as a man who was "so able and has done so well."

Not only was Washington seemingly indifferent toward Adams, Jefferson largely ignored him. This might seem surprising, for a warm, affectionate relationship had developed between Adams and Jefferson when they had been posted simultaneously in France in 1784-85. Jefferson had frequently called on the Adamses; he escorted their daughter Nabby on sightseeing and shopping excursions, and later, when John had been sent to London, the Virginian crossed the English Channel for a long visit. On that occasion, Adams and Jefferson undertook a protracted trip through England, delighting in each other's company as they visited one historic spot after another. But while serving as secretary of state under Washington, Jefferson sought Adams's opinion on only two issues—one a relatively minor matter pertaining to France, the other when a conflict arose over the Canadian-United States boundary (a topic with which Adams had been concerned during the negotiation of the peace treaty with Great Britain).

Part of the reason for Jefferson's neglect of Adams was that their relationship cooled after 1791. During that year Jefferson, without being specific, denounced certain "political heresies" that had been published recently in the United States. Adams took this as a swipe at his "Davila" essays, which was what Jefferson likely had in mind, for he had privately complained to Washington of the vice president's "apostacy to hereditary monarchy and nobility." The rift grew wider during the following year when Jefferson and Madison established a newspaper, the *National Gazette*, to air their views against Hamilton's economic policies.

Another reason why administration officials ignored Adams may have been his frequent and prolonged absences from the capital. Washington escaped to Mount Vernon when he thought he could, but he was usually in the capital during ten months of the year, and once more than a year-and-a-half passed between his visits to Virginia. Adams, however, spent almost three-fourths of each year on his farm in Quincy.

That Washington might have turned to Adams more often had the vice president been within reach is evidenced by the president's remarks during a foreign policy crisis in 1791, when Washington notified his cabinet: "Presuming that the Vice-President will have left the seat of government for Boston, I have not requested his opinion to be taken. . . . Should it be otherwise I wish him to be consulted." Adams, it turned out, had already departed and he played no role in the administration's deliberations.

Adams had not commenced his duties in such a manner. He remained in the capital during the initial two years of his term, except for a few weeks in 1789 when he accompanied Washington on a portion of his New England tour. As long as the capital was in New York the Adamses seemed happy with their lot. They were near Nabby, who was now married and living nearby on Long Island; and they absolutely loved their residence—Richmond Hill, an elegant, two-story columned mansion overlooking the Hudson River about a mile north of the city.

When the capital was shifted to Philadelphia in 1790, the Adamses rented Bush Hill, a handsome dwelling on the outskirts of the city. But Abigail was never happy there, and remained only six months before departing for Peacefield. She never returned to the capital during her husband's vice-presidency.

Economic considerations influenced her decision to remain in Massachusetts. The burden of maintaining two residences, even on the vice president's annual $5,000 salary, was considerable. She also feared for their farm's well-being during her absence. In addition, she had wearied of the entertaining incumbent upon a high official's wife, and longed for privacy and the opportunity to pursue her own interests. Her declining health, however, was the greatest factor in her decision not to return to Philadelphia. Since about 1780 she had been afflicted with rheumatism, a malady that had grown steadily worse during her stay in damp London; now, at times, an excruciating torment seemed to clamp onto her body. She lost weight, and there were days when the agony was too great for her to arise from bed. The thought of a jostling ride over the primitive roads from Quincy to Philadelphia was just too much to bear.

For the final five years of his vice-presidency, therefore, Adams lodged alone in Philadelphia. He usually left Peacefield late in November, sometimes traveling in his own carriage, at other times in a public conveyance, and often sailing to New York, where he caught the stage for the capital. Like many congressmen, he rented rooms at the Francis Tavern on Fourth Street, remaining in Philadelphia only until Congress adjourned, usually early in March, at which time he returned home for the next nine months.

POWERLESS AND IGNORED, Adams is customarily depicted as a feckless and bitterly unhappy man during his vice-presidential years. Certainly he required only a few weeks in office to discover the impotency of his post. "[M]y Burthens are not very heavy," he remarked soon after being sworn in. Later, he complained that the office "renders me so completely insignificant." Other petulant outbursts followed. "I am weary of this Scene of Dullness," this life of "dull Solitude," of "tedious days and lonesome nights," he added in numerous letters.

Adams occasionally talked of resigning the office, but that was the sort of bluster he had spoken during good moments and bad in earlier days. He had never gone through with such a threat, nor did he in this instance, even though he might have done so and returned to Massachusetts to be considered for the governorship or for the United States Senate. Adams might even have stepped down at the end of his first term. Instead, he sought re-election and easily defeated the Republican candidate, George Clinton. Adams undoubtedly saw the vice-presidency as his best means to succeed Washington as president. To further that end, he even shunned his powdered wig, ceremonial sword, and handsome coach.

Despite his frequent complaints, Adams often exhibited a bright side, a more contented and optimistic visage than he had displayed in years. He seemed grateful for all he had achieved, telling John Quincy that his life story had been an instance of "Success almost without Example." His had been a full life, too, he thought, and he told a correspondent that he viewed "the Adventures of myself" as "a kind of Romance" akin to that of a medieval knight who had been compelled to struggle against great odds, but who had ultimately flourished.

Never had Adams seemed so complacent with his lot as during these years. He marveled at the respect and deference shown him. He also acknowledged that Washington had to be the first president, and he took great pride in his elevation to the second spot under the Constitution.

WHEN COMPARED to the travail and isolation he had experienced during much of his earlier public service, Adams's duties as vice president were not unpleasant. As a member of the Continental Congress he had often spent ten or more months in Philadelphia while his family remained in Massachusetts. His first diplomatic mission to Europe had occasioned a nearly sixteen-month absence from his wife; his second em-

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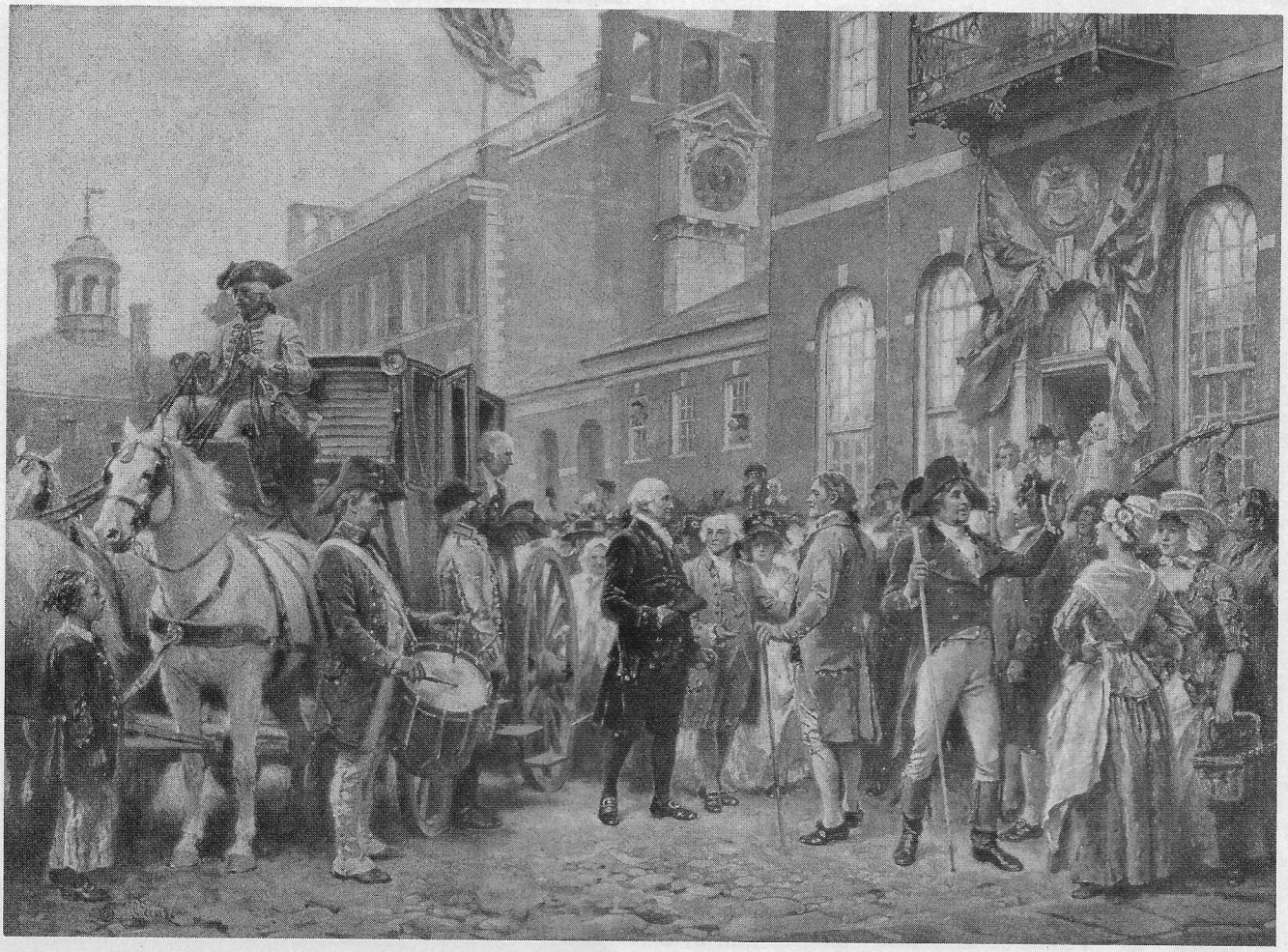
Long accustomed to the protocol of European courts, the new vice president attempted to educate American legislators in parliamentary customs and wore a powdered wig and sword while presiding over the Senate. But these efforts—and his suggestion that the president be addressed as "His Highness"—aroused such ridicule that John Adams was soon forced to adopt a less monarchial stance.



Although Adams occasionally complained of the frustrations and inadequacies of his office, he undoubtedly saw the vice-presidency as his best means to succeed Washington as president, and he willingly served a second term beginning in 1793 (above).

bassy forced a separation from Abigail that lasted nearly five years. After 1792, however, John was normally separated from Abigail for only a few brief weeks each year.

In addition, his lifestyle in Philadelphia was more subdued than in the bustling legations in Amsterdam and London, affording him ample time to read and write. There was no lack of company, however. Adams usually rented a small apartment in one of Philadelphia's taverns, an inn almost certain to be the "home away from home" for numerous congressmen who traveled alone to the capital for Congress's normally brief session.

On a typical day, Adams rose early and read the morning papers, took a brisk horseback ride for exercise, and attended the Senate session. He read public documents in the late afternoon and spent his evenings alone tending to his correspondence and his books. On occasion he socialized over dinner and cigars (he had smoked since before he was ten years old) with acquaintances in the government and the city. He was close to several members in the Massachusetts and Connecticut congressional delegations and enjoyed a long, intimate friendship with Benjamin Rush, Philadelphia's most famous physician. And, occasionally, Vice President Adams was the guest of a European envoy.

During nearly half of Adams's vice-presidential years, his son, Thomas Boylston, lived in the capital, where he was completing his legal apprenticeship; the two met frequently, sometimes for dinners, sometimes so that John could assist with his son's studies.

Adams's health was always a good barometer of his state of mind. A recent biographer has speculated that Adams suffered at least two nervous breakdowns, succumbing in 1771 and again ten years later to enormous pressures. But his health was seldom better than during his vice-presidential years. Although Adams was sixty-one years old in 1796, his last full year in the office, he said that he did not feel a day over forty. "I feel bold and strong," he added, attributing his good health to daily exercise. He did exhibit a chronic tremor in his hands and after 1792 fell victim to pyorrhea, which resulted in the loss of several teeth; the latter affliction not only altered his facial appearance but caused him to speak with a pronounced lisp.

"WASHINGTON'S INAUGURATION AT INDEPENDENCE HALL, 1793" BY J.L.G. FERRIS; COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVES OF '76, BAY VILLAGE, OHIO

The one aspect of his life that *did* cause Adams to despair was his separation from his wife. He often beseeched Abigail to join him, pledging even to live with her in inexpensive rented rooms rather than in a large house. "I want my Wife to hover over and about me," he wrote. "I want my Horse my farm my long Walks and more than all the Bosom of my friends," he told her in another missive. When she turned a deaf ear to his entreaties, he added: " I know not what to write you, unless I tell you I love you. But that will be no News." She would not budge from Peacefield, however, and during the twelve to fourteen weeks each year that they were apart Adams had to be content with her letters, which usually arrived each Monday and Thursday via the New York stage.

Adams was also separated from most of his children during this period. John Quincy practiced law in Boston for four years, but in 1794 President Washington named him United States minister to The Hague. He took his brother, Thomas Boylston, with him as his secretary, and the vice president did not see either son for years afterward.

Adams saw Nabby and Charles twice each year, once in the fall as he passed through New York en route to the capital, and again as he returned to Massachusetts in the spring. Both were a source of worry and disappointment to their parents. Nabby grew bitterly unhappy with her marriage to a man who was frequently away and grasping at one unpromising speculative venture after another. Charles moved to New York following his graduation from Harvard and embarked on what for a time appeared to be a promising legal career. But he was a troubled youth. His sister spoke of his repeated "Hair Breadth scapes and iminent dangers," while his eldest brother urged him to remain within "the limits of regularity." Abigail simply remarked that "He is not at peace with himself." Ultimately, Charles fell into the grip of alcoholism, squandered a considerable amount of money John Quincy had entrusted to him, and watched helplessly as his legal practice deteriorated. Tragically, he died at the age of thirty, a few years after his father's vice-presidency ended.

WHEN ADAMS RETURNED from Peacefield for the annual session of Congress in December 1795, he learned that Washington planned to leave office at the expiration of his second term, a little more than a year away. Martha Washington first dropped a hint of her husband's intention; then, early in January 1796, a cabinet official confirmed the news in a private conversation with the vice president. "You know the Consequences of this, to me and to yourself," Adams hurriedly wrote to Abigail. "We must enter upon Ardours more trying than any ever yet experienced."

What Adams was attempting to tell his wife was that he expected to succeed Washington in the presidency. He regarded himself as the heir apparent for the office, and by early 1796 he knew that most members of his political faction, the Federalist Party, likewise looked upon him as Washington's most legitimate successor.

Adams anticipated a battle with Jefferson for the presidency. He knew it would be a close race, one that he expected would be decided by the House of Representatives. Adams believed himself more deserving than his former friend. He had been elected to the first Congress in 1774, a year before Jefferson first held a national office. He had also served abroad nearly twice as long as the Virginian. Chiefly, however, Adams looked upon his eight years in the vice-presidency as a time when he had paid his dues for promotion to the presidency.

Adams dreaded being returned to the vice-presidency—the fate of the runner-up in the electoral college balloting—more than he feared losing the presidential race to Jefferson. But if Hamilton, Jay, or some other Federalist siphoned off a ballot here and there among Northern electors, that prospect would be the likely result, for Adams did not see any Republican opposition to Jefferson in the Southern states. Remaining in the vice-presidency, however, especially under Jefferson, was a fate that Adams refused to countenance. From the outset of his term in 1789 Adams had indicated that he would serve in that office only under Washington. If re-elected to the vice-presidency, he planned to resign and seek election to the House.

That did not occur, of course. In one of America's closest presidential races, Adams defeated Jefferson, seventy-one electoral votes to sixty-eight. Jefferson carried the South, as Adams had predicted. But, ironically, that was where Adams really won the election. He secured nine Southern votes, winning Maryland and capturing two crucial votes in Virginia and North Carolina.

One of Adams's few responsibilities as vice president was to open and read the results of the electoral college's deliberations. In February 1797, Adams therefore had the pleasure of reading to the Senate the news of his election to the presidency of the United States, and of informing that body that Jefferson, the head of the opposition party, would be his vice president.

Had another person been the first vice president, the office could have developed differently, although that is unlikely. Adams surrendered an impotent office to his successor, having evinced no desire to push for additional responsibilities and, at the first hint of opposition, relinquishing the little power he had initially exercised in the Senate—the prerogative of participating in debates and perhaps swaying some members within that august body.

Adams understood that the framers at the Constitutional Convention had designed the office of vice president almost as an afterthought. He knew that they understood it would be a powerless position; indeed, Roger Sherman had even quipped that if the vice president was not to preside over the Senate he "would be without employment."

The post had been created to help resolve a sticky point about the election of the president, and it was a

Continued on page 52

Madam C.J. Walker: First Black Woman Millionaire

by Kathleen Doyle

"I am a woman who came from the cotton fields of the South. I was promoted from there to the washtub . . . and from there I promoted myself into the business of manufacturing hair goods and preparations."

FIVE YEARS after Madam C.J. Walker spoke those words at the National Negro Business League's 1912 convention, the former laundress was a millionaire, the first American black woman to attain such an economic status through her own efforts.

Before Madam Walker invented her hair preparations, those black women who wanted to straighten and style their hair in the fashionable coiffures of the day found the process troublesome. One method was to spread the hair against a flat surface and then press out the curls with a hot flatiron that often proved unwieldy and hazardous. Other black women divided their hair into sections, then wrapped strings tightly around the strands and twisted them. Repeated use of this procedure caused such strain that the hair sometimes fell out.

In search of a better way, this pioneering businesswoman began experimenting at home with various hair formulas—trying them out on herself and her relatives—until in 1905 she devised a conditioner that made the hair easier to press and style. Her hair product aided too in the treatment of common scalp conditions and was said to promote hair growth. She also developed an improved metal comb for use with her formula. Realizing that her preparation was commercially viable, the foresighted entrepreneur began making it in wash tubs, then selling jars of the conditioner door-to-door in St. Louis.

Madam Walker was born Sarah Breedlove on December 23, 1867 near Delta, Louisiana. Her parents, poor, sharecropping ex-slaves, died by the time she was seven years old, and from then on the orphan girl was raised by an older sister. Sarah later moved to Vicksburg, Mississippi, and, at age fourteen, married a man named McWilliams. Widowed at age twenty, she moved to St. Louis in 1887 with her young daughter and began work as a washerwoman.

But the success of her hair conditioner put an end to that dismal line of work. Several months after Sarah perfected the formula, she moved to Denver, Colorado, which became the base from which she traveled to demonstrate and sell her cosmetics. By then she had

PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE MADAME WALKER URBAN LIFE CENTER, INDIANAPOLIS

begun using her name from an unsuccessful second marriage—Madam C.J. Walker—to label her products.

Through her promotional tours and advertisements in black publications, Madam Walker acquired a large mail order clientele. By 1908 she opened a branch office in Pittsburgh, appointing her daughter A'Lelia as manager. She also established there a school where women were trained in the "Walker System" of hair care and beauty culture.

In 1910 Walker consolidated and enlarged her operations, moving the Denver and Pittsburgh offices to Indianapolis. There she built a factory to manufacture her hair solutions, facial creams, and other cosmetics. "I have built my own factory on my own ground," she said proudly. A training center for her salespeople, along with research and production laboratories and another beauty school, were also established. Beauticians who trained there, many of whom opened their own hair styling businesses after graduation, were advised not to call themselves "hair straighteners," but rather hair and beauty "culturists" or "scalp specialists." As Madam Walker's business continued to expand, she established additional beauty schools.

The Madam C.J. Walker Manufacturing Co., of which Madam Walker was the sole owner and proprietor, became one of Indianapolis's major business enterprises. At the height of Madam Walker's success her company employed about three thousand people—most of them black women. And, with an annual payroll of about $200,000 and business amounting to about $500,000 yearly, by 1917 the company was the largest black-owned business in the United States.

Madam Walker ingeniously organized her agents into clubs for not only business but social and philanthropic purposes. National conventions attended by delegates from these clubs were held regularly. And high sales figures weren't the only successes Madam Walker recognized; she awarded cash prizes to the clubs that did the most to aid charitable and educational causes.

Madam Walker's lectures, product demonstrations, and travels (as well as her likeness on her product labels) brought her widespread recognition. Her fame spread to the Caribbean and even to Europe. In Paris, coiffures made possible through the use of Madam Walker's products gained popularity when acclaimed dancer Josephine Baker began styling her hair that way. Prompted by Madam Walker's success, other manufacturers, both in the United States and France, began to produce similar pomades and conditioners.

Madam Walker's entrepreneurial success did not benefit her alone. Her company provided then-rare career opportunities for black women as agents and beauty culturists. And she made generous contributions to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); homes for the aged in St. Louis and Indianapolis; the Colored YMCA of Indianapolis; the Tuskegee Institute; and the Palmer Memorial Institute, a black preparatory school in North Carolina.

Despite her generosity, Madam Walker was able to live in a style befitting her self-made fortune. About 1913 she purchased three lots on West 136th Street in Harlem, demolished the old brownstone buildings that had stood there, and built a $90,000 townhouse, complete with a beauty salon and school. A few years later she built Villa Lewaro, an elegant, twenty-room, Georgian mansion in Irvington-on-Hudson, New York. She decorated the mansion lavishly, but said she had built her villa not so much for her own enjoyment as for inspiration to other blacks to strive for achievement.

Madam Walker was able to enjoy this palatial residence for only about a year after its completion; she died May 25, 1919, leaving an estate valued at more than one million dollars.

In her will Madam Walker bequeathed many possessions to her daughter A'Lelia, but she also provided for large donations to the NAACP, black orphans, homes for the elderly, black YWCA and YMCA branches, and black, private educational institutions.

The Madam C.J. Walker Manufacturing Company of Indianapolis continues in business today as a producer of ethnic hair products. But Madam Walker may have summed up her greatest contribution to society when she said, "I have made it possible for many colored women to abandon the washtub for a more pleasant and profitable occupation. . . . The girls and women of our race must not be afraid to take hold of business enterprises." ★

Kathleen Doyle is articles editor for American History Illustrated.

This Illinois town is rich in reminders of the years that Abraham Lincoln lived there—including a restored state house, Lincoln's law offices, and the only home he ever owned.

Mr. Lincoln's Springfield

by William T. Anderson

MINUTES BEFORE his train departed from the Great Western Depot in Springfield, Illinois on February 11, 1861, Abraham Lincoln paused to deliver a brief but heartfelt farewell to the friends, neighbors, and associates he was leaving behind. The six-foot four-inch president-elect towered above the crowd in his familiar, slightly-stooped manner as he spoke with emotion to those who had gathered to wish him well in his upcoming task as chief executive of a disintegrating Union.

"My friends," he began, "No one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feelings of sadness at this parting. To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe everything."

Although their friend was bound for the White House, those who had gathered to bid him farewell knew him simply as "Old Abe," "Lawyer Lincoln," or "Mr. Lincoln." No one doubted the sincerity of the words he used to say goodby—words that today rank near the Gettysburg Address in their eloquence.

As the president-elect spoke, a panorama of images must have passed through his mind and the minds of his Springfield associates: Lincoln, the poor beginning lawyer, riding into Springfield in 1837 with all of his belongings in his saddlebags; Lincoln, the canny politician who helped gain state-capital status for Springfield; Lincoln, the shrewd attorney who handled three thousand cases ranging from slander, trespass, murder, and divorce proceedings to lucrative legal advice for railroads; Lincoln, the family man, a steadying anchor for his excitable wife Mary, and a doting father to Robert, Eddie, Willie, and Tad.

"Here I have lived a quarter of a century," Lincoln continued, "and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return."

"I bid you an affectionate farewell," the president-elect concluded, making a final gesture of acknowledgement to his hometown of

Recently restored by the National Park Service to its 1860 appearance, Abraham Lincoln's Springfield home (opposite) is just one of several noteworthy historic sites recalling the future president's twenty-four years in the Illinois town. Others include the old Illinois State House, Lincoln's law offices, and the Lincoln family tomb. A gothic arched hat and umbrella stand (above center) in the Lincoln home is one of dozens of original family furnishings that can be seen there.

PHOTOGRAPH ABOVE BY RON ACKERMAN; PHOTOGRAPH OPPOSITE BY WILLIAM E. MATHIS

Architectural research during the $1.7 million 1987-1988 restoration of Lincoln's home revealed that brighter, bolder colors and patterns had been used in the wallpaper, carpets, and curtains than had been previously supposed. Above, the family parlor; opposite, Lincoln's bedroom.

twenty-four years.

As Lincoln had perhaps anticipated, he had no opportunities to return to Illinois during the frenetic years that followed. And he enjoyed only fleeting connections with the town that seemed a peaceful haven amid the chores and cares connected with his office.

In mid-April 1865, four years after Lincoln's departure from Springfield, townspeople there had cause to recall the poignancy and prophetic quality of their friend's farewell remarks. The president was returning to his Illinois home in death—America's first assassinated chief executive.

For a shocked and grieving nation, Springfield seemed the proper place to revel in historic memory and to show respect. And from 1865 on, Lincoln's old hometown on the Illinois prairie remained host and keeper of the Lincoln legend.

The town projected this active commitment and hospitality in early May 1865, when the last of twenty funerals was held for the president, drawing thousands of mourners to Springfield. They found the town blooming with spring flowers but dutifully subdued in black draping, with signs proclaiming "He Lives in the Hearts of His People."*

**A detailed account of Lincoln's Springfield funeral and burial appears in* Twenty Days *by Dorothy and Philip Kunhardt, (Harper and Row, 1965).*

After the long, slow funeral train's journey west from Washington, D.C., the open coffin of the deceased president was placed on public view in the Illinois State House in downtown Springfield. This became the most obvious destination for mourners as, on May 3, Lincoln's body lay in state in the Hall of Representatives.

On May 4, 1865, burial took place in the receiving vault of Oak Ridge Cemetery on the outskirts of town. Abraham Lincoln was home, and his name and reputation became forevermore synonymous with Springfield, Illinois.

THE ILLINOIS STATE CAPITOL, where Lincoln's body lay in state, had truly been a professional home to him. He had been an influential Sangamon County legislator when the bill was passed in 1837 to move the capital from Vandalia to

PHOTOGRAPHS BY WILLIAM E. MATHIS

Springfield. Lincoln frequented the imposing Greek Revival building after it was completed in 1853. His law office was just across the street; he studied and borrowed books in the state library, and tried more than two hundred cases before the Illinois Supreme Court.

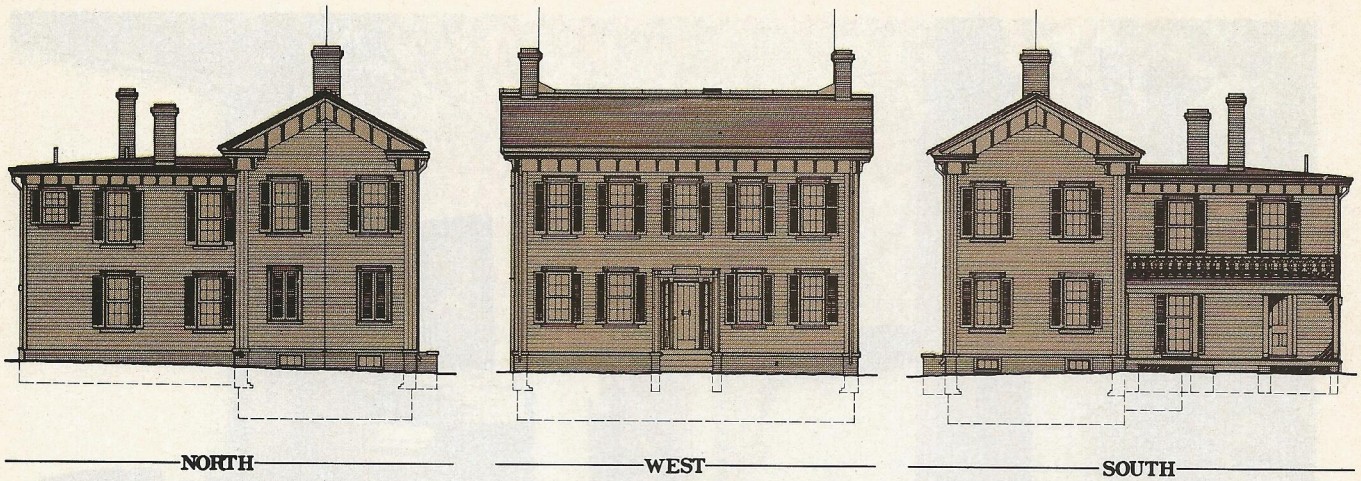
The capitol was the site for one of Lincoln's most important pre-presidential speeches; in June 1858 he declared that "A house divided against itself cannot stand." Two years later, as president-elect, Lincoln used the governor's office on the second floor as a place to receive well-wishers, journalists, political cronies, and office-seekers.

Although the state house that Abraham Lincoln knew was replaced by a new Illinois State Capitol nine years after his death, the older building survives today, restored to its 1850s appearance. After years of use as the Sangamon County Courthouse, the historic structure was returned to its former glory in 1966-1968. Masons removed and reassembled more than three thousand blocks of stone, and architectural historians gathered furnishings to replicate the interior as it was in Lincoln's era.

Today, the atmosphere both inside and outside Capitol Square is authentically Lincoln-era. Visitors are greeted by guides in 1850s attire, and detailed tours through the building explain the Lincoln connection and the everyday use of a public building during his time. Dedicated Lincoln enthusiasts and scholars find the Illinois State Historical Library, underneath the restored old capitol, of special interest. This repository contains a vast collection of Lincoln documentation and artifacts.

Facing the old state capitol is a sizable brick building on the corner of Sixth and Adams streets. Built in 1840-1841, the "Merchants Block" owned by Seth Tinsley housed a federal courtroom, post office, general store, and the law offices Lincoln shared with Stephen Logan and William Herndon. Although Lincoln maintained a variety of offices with his three different partners during his Springfield law career, the Tinsley offices are the only ones surviving. Now an Illinois State Historic Site, the Tinsley building accurately re-creates the surroundings in which Lincoln worked—although he would be the first to admit that his quarters were never so neat.

A visit to the meticulously restored Greek Revival structure begins with a multimedia orientation presentation, followed by a tour of the federal courtroom, judge's office, clerk's office, jury room, and law offices—among them the ones known by Lincoln.



WITHIN EASY walking distance from the Lincoln-Herndon law offices (Lincoln's daily business was mostly confined to the area around the downtown capitol building, and nearly everything was an easy walk for him) is perhaps the most identifiable historic site in town: the only home Abraham Lincoln ever owned. On the corner of Eighth and Jackson streets, the brown frame Quaker house was a simple cottage when Lincoln purchased it for $1,500 in 1844.

Following Lincoln's 1842 marriage to Mary Todd, the couple resided at the Globe Tavern (no longer standing). Their first son, Robert Todd Lincoln, was born there in 1843. The purchase of a home the following year reflected Lincoln's rising fortunes and reputation. For the next seventeen years, until he left Springfield to assume the presidency, the house at Eighth and Jackson streets was home.

George Painter, historian for the National Park Service's Lincoln Home Historic Site, points out that Lincoln spent almost as much time away from home as he did in residence. Each spring and fall Lincoln "rode the circuit" for three months, serving the Eighth Judicial Circuit, arguing cases all over the Illinois prairie. Mary Lincoln was left behind to cope with housekeeping chores and the rearing of the three surviving Lincoln boys. (Eddie died in 1850).

So capable was Mrs. Lincoln that during her husband's absence in the spring of 1856 she supervised a major renovation of the family home. When he returned, Lincoln discovered that his wife had "raised the roof," adding a full second floor at a cost of $1,300. The modest story-and-a-half cottage was transformed to an imposing Greek Revival structure, a fitting setting for an increasingly prominent attorney and politician. Lincoln joked with a neighbor when he first viewed his enlarged house, asking, "Stranger, do you know where Lincoln lives? He used to live here!"

Upon entering his renovated house through the front door bearing "A. Lincoln " on a nameplate, the future president found a hallway that opened to a parlor and library on one side and a more informal sitting room opposite. Behind the main rooms were the dining room and kitchen, two covered porches, and a woodshed-pantry. The interior was decorated in the Victorian style Mrs. Lincoln so dearly loved.

The Lincoln home was the scene of exciting events during the five years that followed its expansion. On one occasion in 1857 the Lincolns received three hundred guests who were each given "a cordial, hearty western welcome, which put every guest at ease" as they crowded the rooms. By 1860, Lincoln's nomination for the presidency brought to the house streams of political visitors, parades, and much entertaining. The official notification committee handed Lincoln his nomination in the parlor of the Eighth Street home on May 19, 1860.

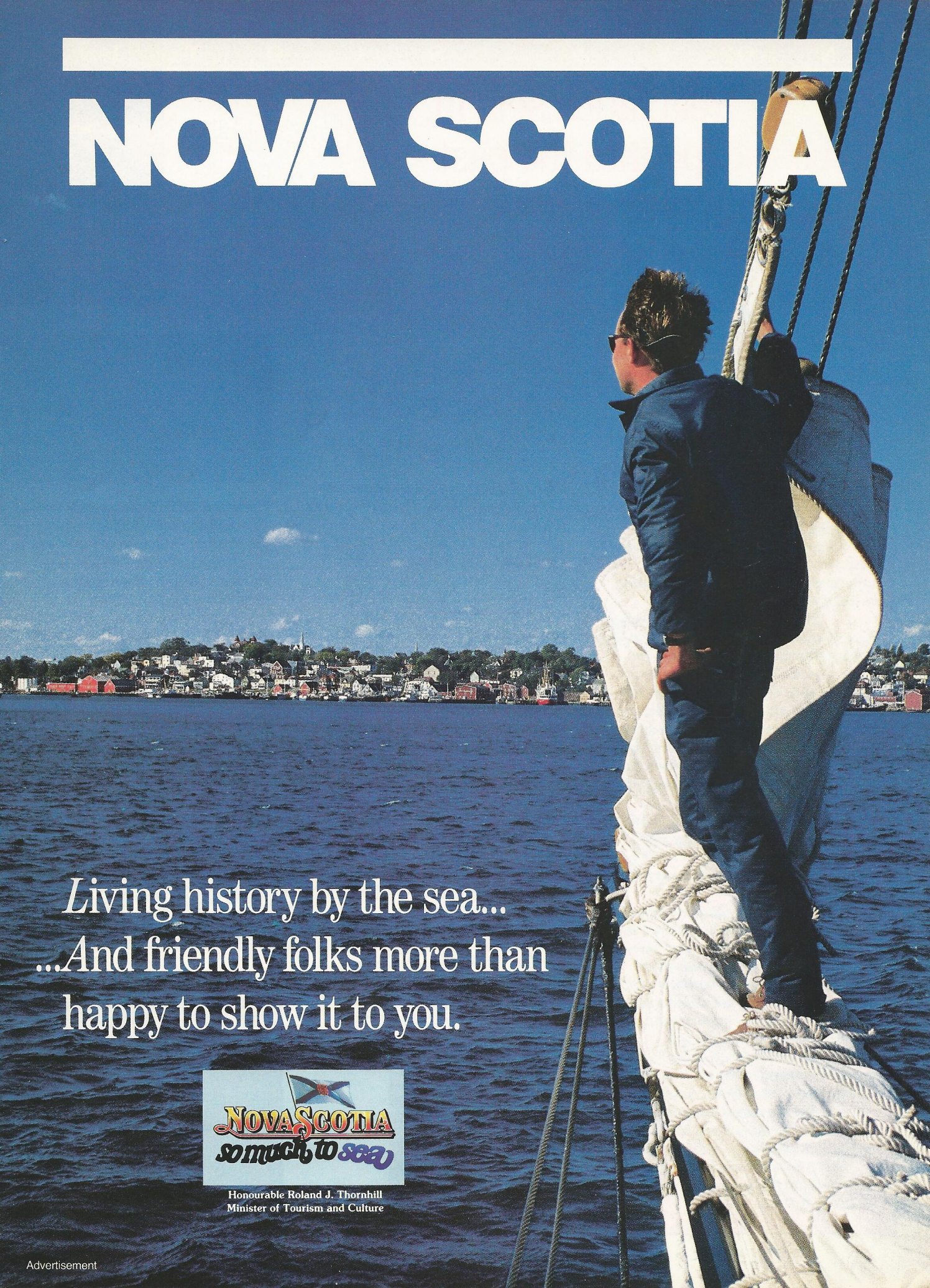
National attention was accorded the Lincoln home after election day 1860. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* featured detailed sketches of the interior, along with flowery descriptions of the modest, middle-American aura found in the future president's dwelling. "The sitting room and parlor are," stated *Leslie's* on March 9, 1861, "simply and plainly fitted up, but are not without taste and refinement. . . . The rooms are comfortably furnished with strong, well-made furniture made for use not for show."

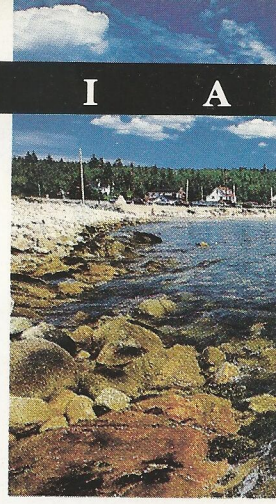
A week after a brilliant February 6, 1861 farewell open house, Lincoln left his home of seventeen years for the last time. During his White House years he rented the home to Lucian Tilton, president of the Great Western Railroad. Tilton and his wife noted a constant interest in the Lincoln home while its owners were in Washington, and during the president's funeral in May 1865 the Tiltons had to cope with intense public fascination. The structure was draped in black, and delegations of mourners gathered in the yard for photographs. Patient Mrs. Tilton estimated that every five minutes two hundred more people arrived to view the house. She graciously escorted them through the rooms, pointing out furnishings purchased from the Lincolns, including Mary's cookstove.

Mrs. Lincoln never returned to her old Springfield home; before her death in 1882, she deeded the property to Robert, her sole surviving son. By 1887, Robert and his wife gave the house to the State of Illi-

Continued on page 31

ELEVATIONS OF LINCOLN HOME COURTESY OF LINCOLN HOME NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE





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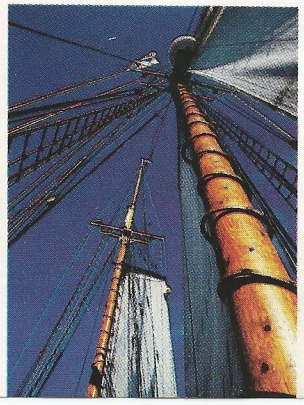
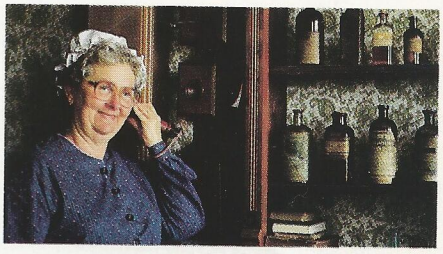
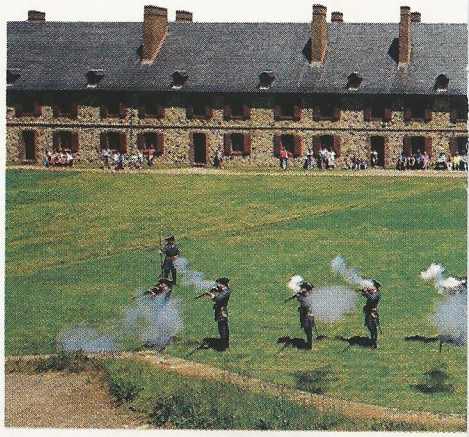




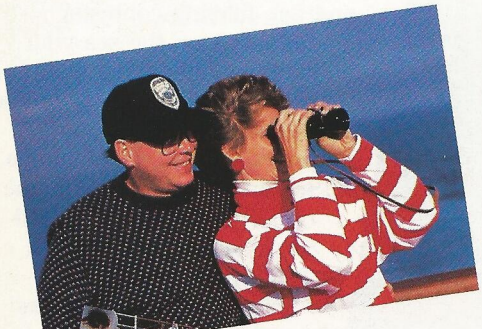
Within easy strolling distance, the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic chronicles Nova Scotia's long romance with the sea in its open exhibit and display centre.

And the adjoining downtown streets of old Halifax are alive with street musicians, open air seafood dining, taverns, art galleries, craft shops, and evening entertainment.

The Fisheries Museum of the Atlantic in nearby Lunenburg boasts two former deep sea fishing vessels, a theatre, an aquarium and three floors of exhibits. Here the fascinating story of illegal rum running between Nova Scotia and



The Best Road to Nova Scotia Is By Sea.



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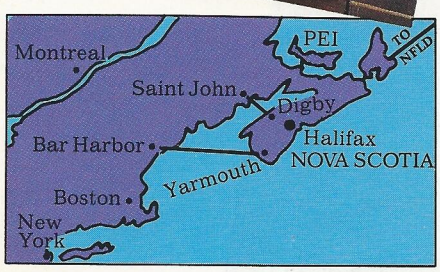

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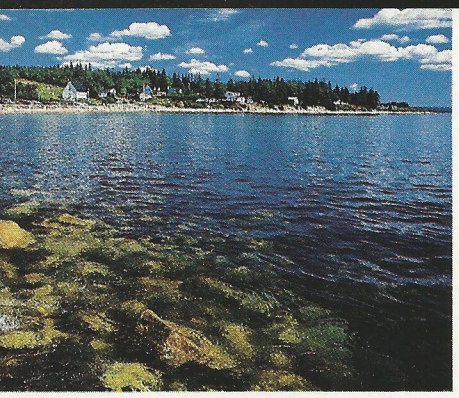
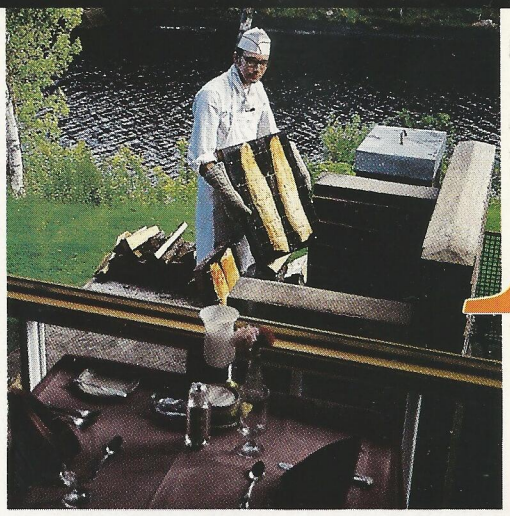
Minister of Tourism and Culture





Mouth watering planked salmon is a unique Nova Scotia delicacy

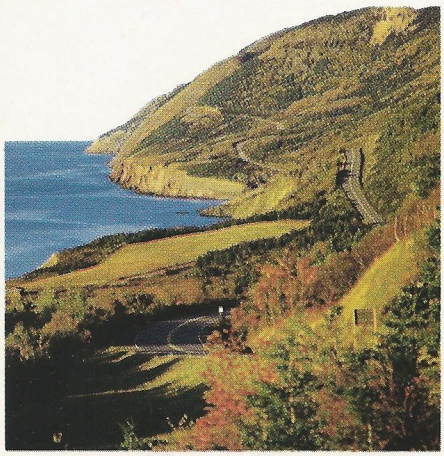
Quaint but efficient

'You don't just admire antiques, you sleep on them . . .'

Nova Scotia's more than 4,700 miles of dramatic coastline is an almost endless diverse sequence of bustling ports, picture postcard fishing villages, towering headlands, uncrowded sandspit beaches, coves and tiny offshore islands once frequented by pirates.

Fine old Captains' houses built by shipwrights, with widow's walks and sea views, grace the tree-lined streets of her rural townships, and many have been converted to country inns offering bed & breakfast and an opportunity to truly sample the finer things of life 100 years ago.

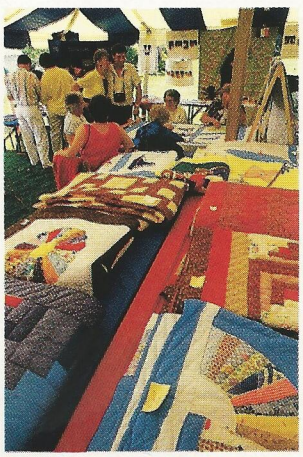
In such places the visitor doesn't simply admire antiques brought back from around the world by seafaring men—but rather sits on them and sleeps on them.



the United States during the period of prohibition is graphically told.

You'll smell the sea, not exhaust fumes. You'll hear cart wheels, not car horns. You'll eat shellfish and fresh fillets, not burgers and fries. Brass replaces plastic. Finely finished wood replaces cold featureless metal.

You escape into the past—and a unique vacation experience begins.



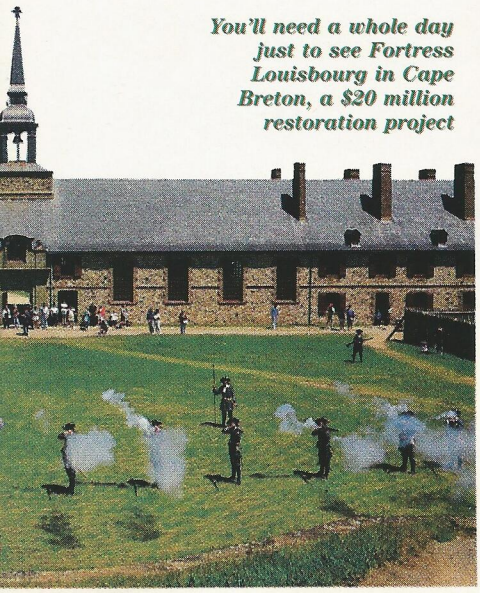
Unique crafts and artifacts to enhance your own home

Artifacts of mahogany and brass, hand-knitted seaman's sweaters, and driftwood art are among the unique crafts available just about everywhere.

From spring until fall in such communities there is scarcely a weekend when unique seaside festivals, fishing exhibitions, lobster carnivals, and annual celebrations of one form or another are not taking place. How many of your friends have seen fun filled, world class scallop shucking and fish filleting contests?

Get out on the sea yourself—deep sea fishing, or a whale-watching tour or visit a seabird colony.

Prominent among Nova Scotia's many charms is the opportunity to sample delicious seafood fresh from the wharf—lobster tails and swordfish steaks and clams by the handful served up in the friendliest service anywhere. For while Nova Scotia is old-fashioned and rustic and refreshingly slow, service is that of an efficient, well established tourist industry.



You'll need a whole day just to see Fortress Louisbourg in Cape Breton, a $20 million restoration project

10 good reasons why your Nova Scotia vacation will go down in history as the best you've ever had...

A unique combination of diverse culture and living history that will allow you to experience another century up close and first hand. **1**

2 A foreign destination that is a safe, friendly place where your enjoyment will not be compromised by difficulties due to language or other misunderstandings.

Sightseeing to delight your eyes and deplete your supply of photographic film. Uniquely Nova Scotian hand-crafts are gifts to be treasured for a lifetime. **3**

4 The slow laid back lifestyle of another era—but not so laid back that service suffers or modern comforts and conveniences are not at your disposal. Nova Scotia is an extremely popular vacation destination offering first class amenities from hotels to campgrounds, to bed & breakfast country inns.

Normally fine summer and fall weather that will leave you tanned, but not soaked and exhausted from oppressive heat. **5**

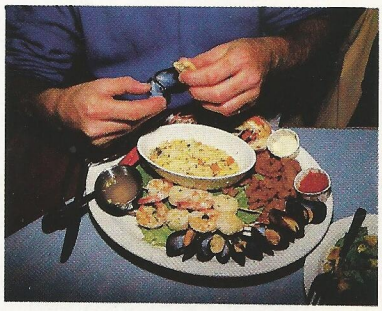
6 The chance to add a sea cruise to your holiday by crossing the Gulf of Maine from mainland North America to Nova Scotia in a luxury ocean going vessel, even though Nova Scotia is just next door.

7 A network of first class, all-weather highways to get you where you want to go safely and quickly; and thousands of miles of well-maintained country roads where the view changes with every mile.

Value for money. Favorable exchange rates mean your annual vacation fund will stretch farther than you think. **8**

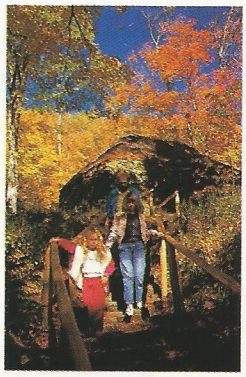
9 Unequalled variety. Choose farmland or forests, beaches or mountains, cities or hamlets, excitement or tranquility, whale-watching or birdwatching, golfing or shopping . . . The list just goes on.

A sophisticated, computerized check-in and information system that allows you to make instant confirmed reservations, or get up to date information on just about anything, with a simple, toll-free telephone call. **10**



Prominent among Nova Scotia's many charms is the opportunity to sample delicious seafood fresh from the wharf

This is important!

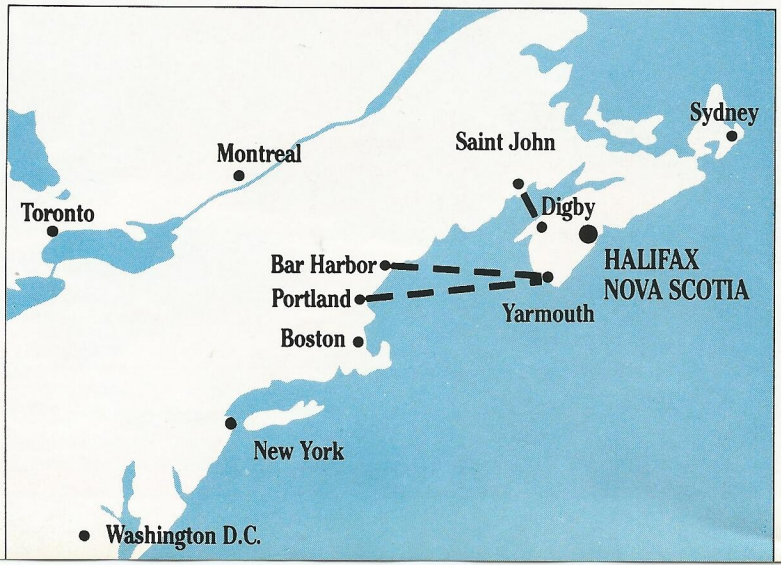


Fall is a most pleasant time of the year in Nova Scotia

All you ever wanted to know about Nova Scotia—in advance

A poorly-planned holiday can mean precious vacation time wasted. We've gone to unusual lengths to help make sure you get the most out of your visit to Nova Scotia. For instance, we'll make available to you, on request, Canada's most complete 272-page Tourism Guide with 24 color pages and everything you'd ever want to know about us. We also have North America's most advanced computerized information and reservations system, and it's only a toll-free phone call away.

Continental USA, 1-800-242-1520
Massachusetts, 1-800-242-1510



Integral ties with the U.S.

History and the sea have solidly linked Nova Scotia and New England together with bonds that persist to this day.

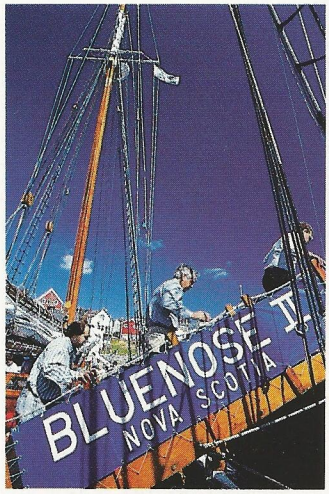
Nova Scotia's close proximity to New England brought about a long-standing movement of goods and people between the two regions, and close historical ties have resulted.

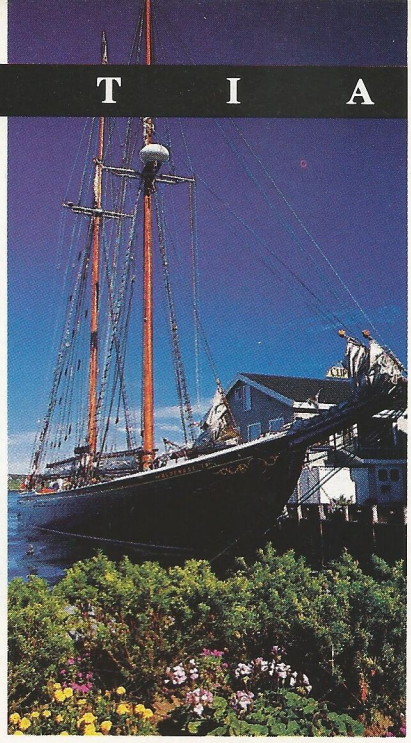
By the 1780s British Loyalists fleeing the American Revolution were flooding into Nova Scotia to make a new life for themselves. Among them were George & Robert Ross, sons of a Scottish merchant. Their home and store, in Shelburne, has been restored to its original appearance and preserved as a museum.

Connecticut native Simeon Perkins headed for Nova Scotia in 1762 and became one of the Province's leading merchants and politicians. His restored home in Liverpool may be visited and his meticulous diaries of day to day life in the late 1700s examined.

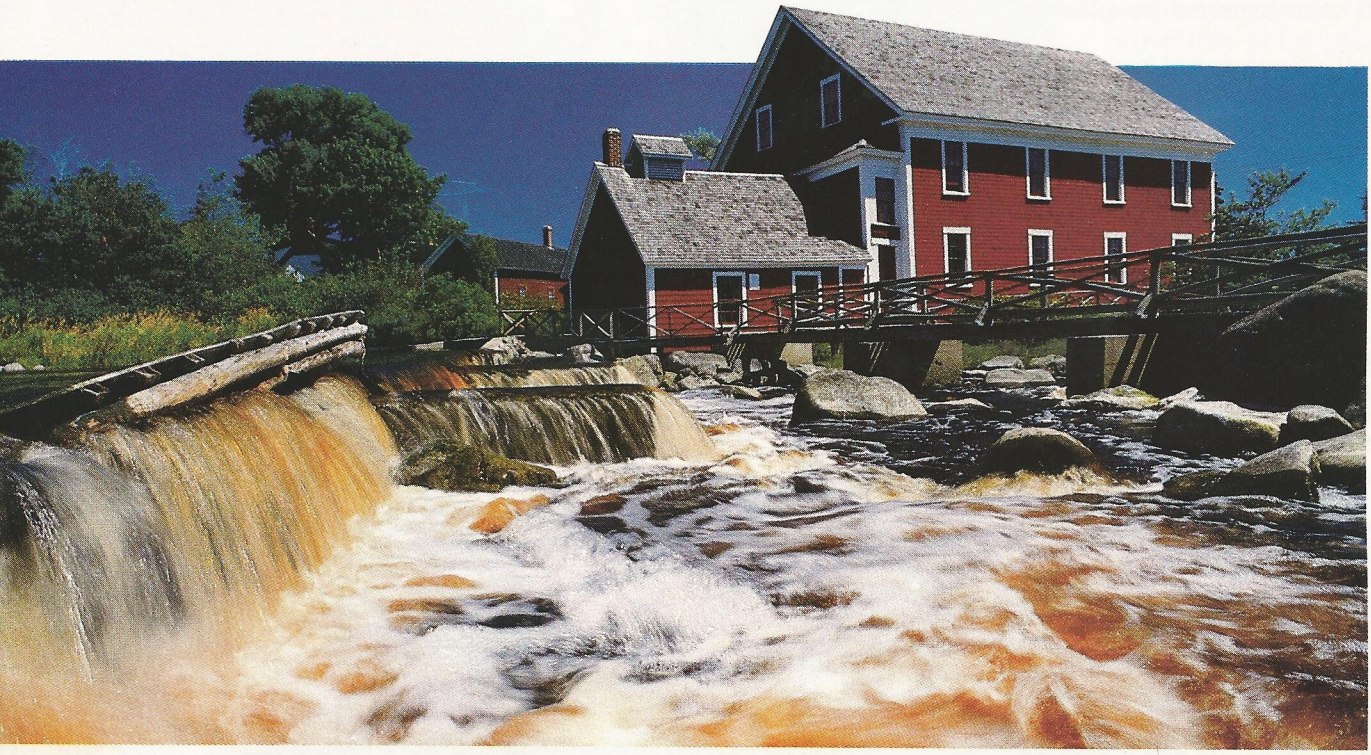
Many among Nova Scotia's black population can trace their roots to slaves who moved north to escape persecution after the American Civil War. Their compelling story is told in graphic form in the Black Cultural Centre near Dartmouth.

The Nova Scotia community of Barrington was founded in 1765 by 50 Cape Cod families whose original New England style meeting house has been restored as a museum.





For those who wish to experience sea breezes and full sails, the Schooner Bluenose II is available



nois as a historical site. Lincoln admirers have been visiting from that time on; since 1972 more than ten million visitors have passed over the threshold of Lincoln's home.

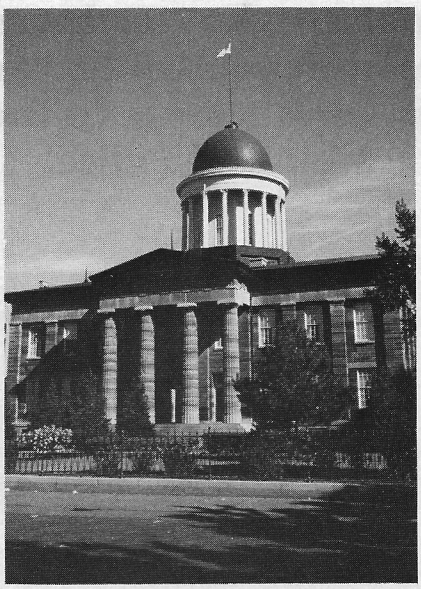
THROUGHOUT THE YEARS, the Lincoln home remained open, even during major and minor repair work and restoration projects. By 1955, the entire house was opened for public viewing, allowing visitors access to the second floor for the first time. In 1971 the Lincoln home and four adjacent blocks were declared a National Historic Site under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service.

The years 1987-1988 launched a thrilling new era for the Lincoln home. The building was meticulously researched, repaired, restored, and safeguarded against the ravages of time, weather, and throngs of annual visitors.

Scott Meyer of River City Restorations, the Hannibal, Missouri firm involved in the Lincoln project, described the job as "starting with a house that already looks the way you want it to. Then you strip it down to its bare bones before rebuilding it." That was exactly the process used on the Lincoln house.

During the cold winter months of 1987-1988, a temporary shelter encased the entire house, enabling the $1.7 million restoration project to continue without delays. To ensure the building's longevity, restorers added structural reinforcements to the framing. They also installed climate control; replaced deteriorated wood and plaster; removed, repaired, and repainted exterior siding; and added a new roof. A few interior structural changes were also made for historical accuracy. Upstairs, carpenters raised the ceilings to their original levels and replaced a door in Robert Lincoln's bedroom.

The Lincoln story—a seemingly exhausted field of research—was augmented considerably by the restoration project. One exciting discovery was a cache of Lincoln documents found inside a kitchen wall. An 1855 newspaper, four letters written to Lincoln, an envelope addressed by him, and a printed anti-slavery speech emerged. As the project's historical architect Francis Krupka noted: "It's not all that often that original Lincoln documents pop out of the woodwork."



OLD ILLINOIS STATE HOUSE; COURTESY OF WILLIAM T. ANDERSON

Other artifacts were uncovered when excavators discovered a well long-hidden under the back porch. The finds included a pewter spoon, dishes, glassware, peach pits, egg shells, and meat bones. The presence of a patent medicine bottle in the well indicates that one of the Lincolns indulged in doses of "carminative," which claimed to cure "gout, cholic or flatulence."

Renovating the reconstructed Lincoln home interior was a multidisciplined project, combining all known documentation, photographs, drawings, period decoration, and Lincoln artifacts to replicate the scenes the family knew. The last full year the family occupied the home—1860—was selected as a guideline for the restoration.

About sixty-five pieces of original Lincoln furniture survive in the house. (Additional items are in other museums.) The restored appearance of the rooms reveals that Mrs. Lincoln favored bold reds, cobalt blues, gold tassles, and billowy flowered prints for her wallpaper, carpets, and curtains.

When the Lincoln home reopened in June 1988, interest in the site was immediately rekindled. As many as three thousand visitors now tour the house daily. Although a few visitors who saw the Lincoln home before its restoration have said they liked it better "the old way," the home is now significantly more authentic to its appearance and condition at the time the Lincolns last lived there.

SOME SAY that Lincoln still haunts his old neighborhood, but his spirit looms especially at the Oak Ridge Cemetery in Springfield. The Lincoln Tomb is a majestic memorial as well as burial site for Abraham and Mary Lincoln and three of their four sons: Eddie, Willie, and Tad. The white granite tomb exterior features four bronze statuary groups representing the fighting forces of the Civil War. The approach to the tomb is dominated by a bust of a beardless Lincoln, showing his appearance during his Springfield years. This likeness by famed sculptor Gutzon Borglum caused Robert Todd Lincoln to exclaim, "Why, I never expected to see Father again!"

The interior of the Lincoln Tomb contains corridors leading to the burial chamber, each exhibiting statuary commemorating Lincoln at various stages of his public career. Lincoln's actual gravesite is marked by a simple marble monument. Above are the words, "Now He Belongs to the Ages"—Secretary of War Edwin Stanton's eulogy at the time of Lincoln's death.

"Here I have lived," Lincoln said of his Springfield years. There, the memory and remembrances of his Illinois years linger. ★

William T. Anderson is the author of the recently published book Little House Sampler: Long Lost Writings of Laura Ingalls Wilder *(University of Nebraska Press, 1988). His article on Wilder appeared in the September 1984 issue of this publication.*

Commissioned to illustrate the Northwest Paper Company's advertising themes of dependability and performance, a notable art collection pays tribute to the fabled North-West Mounted Police.

Maintain the Right

by Richard J. Maturi

WHEN THE NORTHWEST PAPER COMPANY, headquartered in Cloquet, Minnesota, sought in 1931 to develop an advertising theme presenting an image of strength, dependability, and able performance, it had but to look north of its state's border to the storied North-West Mounted Police.

Little did the paper company—then struggling through the early days of the Great Depression—realize that its "Mountie" campaign would become one of the most successful and enduring advertising themes in American marketing history. The North-West Mounted Police image, used for more than fifty years, continues today as the symbol for the printing papers produced by the Northwest Paper Division of Potlatch Corporation.

The Mounties' heritage of "maintaining the right" provided ample, rich images for the sixteen artists whom Northwest Paper commissioned between 1931 and 1970—by which time the collection had grown to nearly four hundred paintings and drawings, deemed adequate to meet foreseeable marketing requirements. The colorful, dynamic illustrations have adorned magazine advertisements, calendars, notepads, and other materials promoting the company's line of printing papers.

For many years the original Mountie paintings hung in Northwest Paper's Cloquet headquarters and other mill and sales offices around the country. Then, in 1981 Potlatch Corporation donated the Mountie collection to the Tweed Museum of Art at the University of Minnesota, Duluth, where it is preserved today.

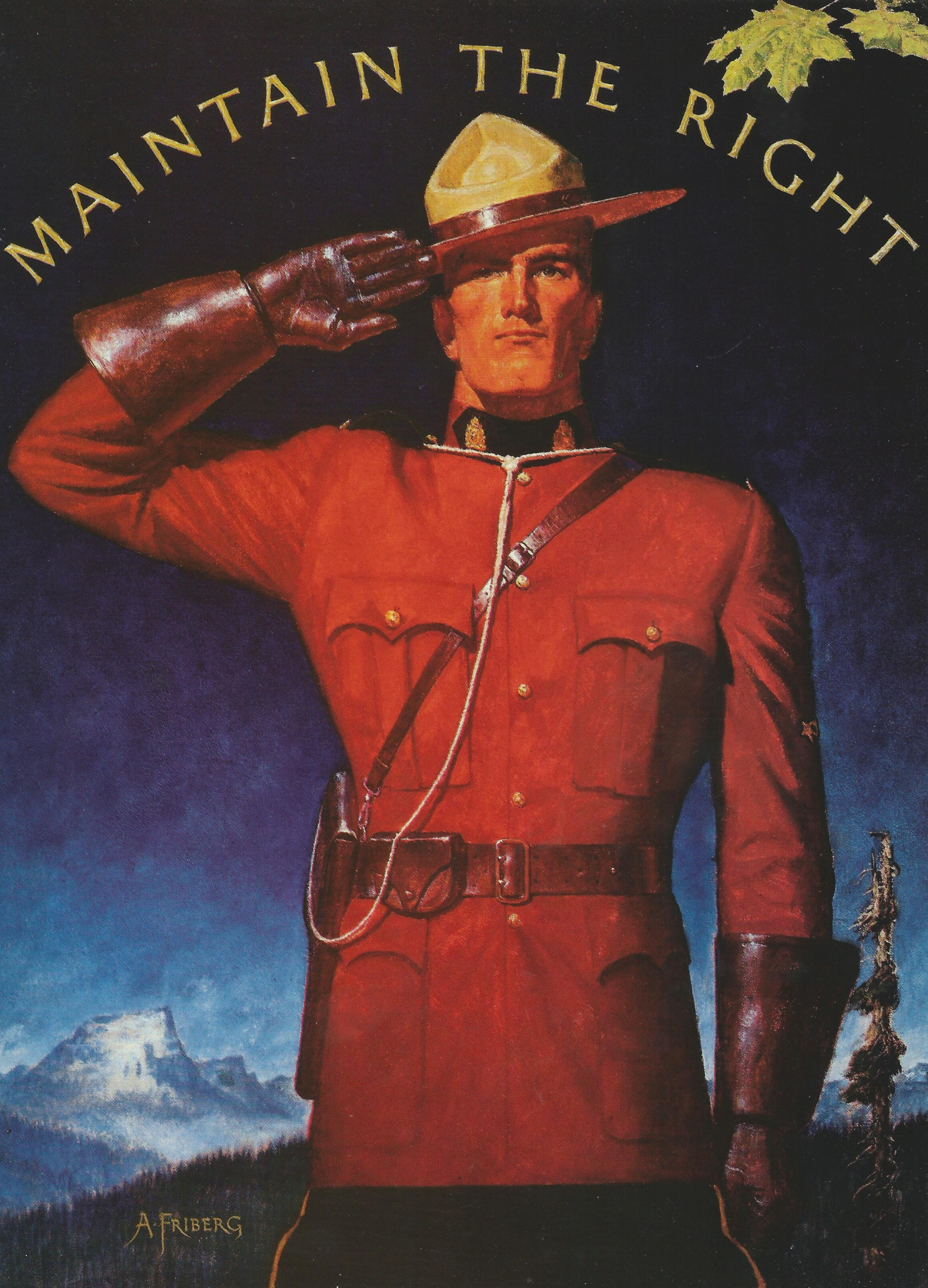
CREATED IN 1873, a quarter-century before Northwest Paper's founding, the distinguished North-West Mounted Police sought to maintain law and order in the wilds of the western Canadian frontier. An 1874 North-West Mounted Police recruiting poster sought "applicants between the ages of twenty-two and forty, active, able-bodied men of thoroughly sound constitution, able to produce certification of exemplary character and sobriety, and who must also understand the care and management of horses."

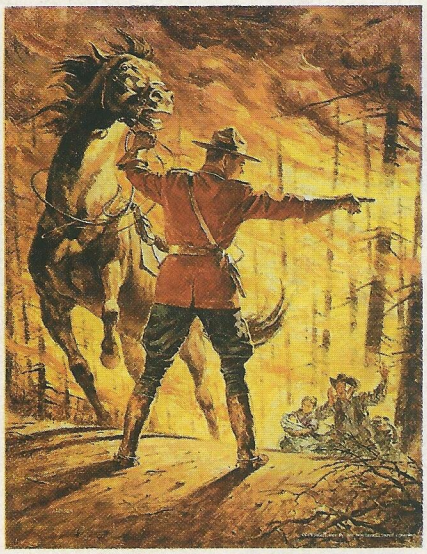
Aspiring Mounties also needed to be able to read and write either English or French. Terms of engagement included a government promise to grant 160 acres of land to all well-conducted men who completed three years of service. Recruits received free rations, clothing, equipment, and quarters during their period of enlistment. Constables earned one dollar a day, and sub-constables seventy-five cents. Originally the force was to stand at three hundred men.

Early duties of the North-West Mounted Police included establishing order in advance of white settlement; acting as Indian agents and maintaining good relations with the tribes; policing construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway; maintaining law and order during the Yukon gold rush; and providing such essential services as mail delivery, medical treatment, and the

Text continues on page 39

An illustration by Arnold Friberg (right), one of more than four hundred works of art commissioned by the Northwest Paper Company, captures the determined spirit of the North-West Mounted Police to tame the rugged western Canadian frontier. The red-jacketed uniform worn by the Mounties was adopted by Sir John A. Macdonald, the Scottish-born lawyer who became the first prime minister of the Dominion of Canada and who played an instrumental role in the establishment of the North-West Mounted Police. Realizing that the red coat represented the British tradition of fair dealing with Indian tribes, Macdonald chose the scarlet color to gain their trust.

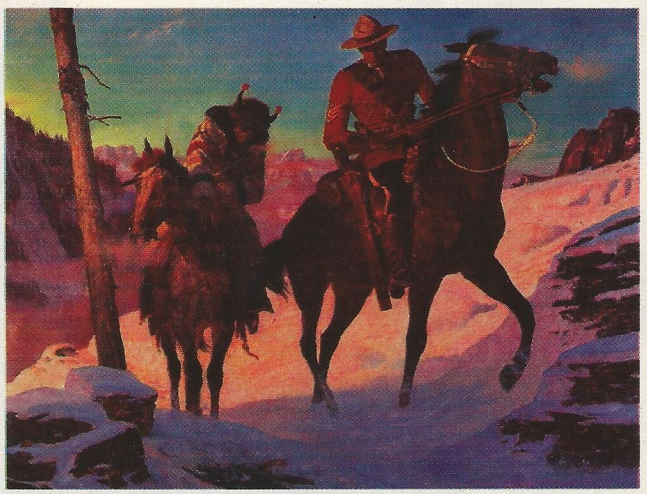

MAINTAIN THE RIGHT
A. FRIBERG



Although the Mountie paintings created for Northwest Paper were not intended to portray actual settings or historical events, they accurately reflected the élan of the North-West Mounted Police in their varied roles as friends and enforcers. Over a span of nearly four decades, sixteen artists contributed to the series, including Hal Foster, Benton Clark, and Michaelson and Addison (opposite and left; first names unknown). The most prolific contributor was Arnold Friberg, who painted more than two hundred Mountie subjects, including the illustration below.

PAINTINGS COURTESY OF THE TWEED MUSEUM OF ART, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, DULUTH
COPY PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY OF THE NORTHWEST PAPER DIVISION, POTLATCH CORPORATION; AND LAKE SUPERIOR CUSTOM PHOTO LAB, DULUTH


A. FRIBERG



Whether the Mountie tracked outlaws alone or with the able assistance of a scout or guide (as depicted by Friberg above), he persevered in the commitment to "always get his man."

In the harsh weather conditions of the Canadian West the real North-West Mounted Police donned heavy parkas of animal furs to prevent frostbite. Because the advertising illustrations for Northwest Paper required that the familiar scarlet tunic be shown to provide instant reader identification, many winter scenes had to be ignored lest they not be completely accurate. One of the largest canvases completed by Friberg, however, is a dramatic winter scene with a rifle-toting Mountie (left). Friberg solved the identity problem by leaving the front of the Mountie's parka open to reveal the scarlet tunic.

PAINTINGS COURTESY OF THE TWEED MUSEUM OF ART, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, DULUTH
COPY PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY OF THE NORTHWEST PAPER DIVISION, POTLATCH CORPORATION, AND LAKE SUPERIOR CUSTOM PHOTO LAB, DULUTH


A. FRIBERG

maintenance of statistics and meteorological records.

Recognizing the group's achievements, King Edward VII in 1904 granted use of the prefix "Royal," and the force became known as the Royal North-West Mounted Police. With the merger of the Mounties and the Dominion Police in 1920, the renamed Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) assumed responsibility for maintaining national security and enforcing federal laws throughout Canada.

Since 1974, women have been admitted to these uniformed ranks. Today the RCMP is one of the most progressive law enforcement agencies in the world, using specialized technical support services, computerized information systems, and telecommunications to carry on its duties in Canada and with the International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol).

HAROLD "HAL" FOSTER, a native of Halifax, Nova Scotia, was the first artist commissioned by Northwest Paper to depict Mounties. Many of Foster's artworks, like those of the artists who followed him, featured the lawmen facing and overcoming adversity and the forces of nature—accurately reflecting both the Mountie's way of life and the paper company's surmounting of the era's economic obstacles.

Foster is best remembered today for the newspaper comic strips "Tarzan," begun in 1931, and "Prince Valiant," created in 1937. As Northwest Paper's marketing efforts expanded and as Foster devoted more of his time to newspaper work, the company commissioned other artists to contribute to the Mountie theme.

The most prolific of these artists is Arnold Friberg. During the thirty-three years that Friberg illustrated for Northwest Paper, he created 208 artworks—more than half of the Mountie collection.

A Chicago Academy of Art graduate, Friberg is a modern master well known for his western and Biblical illustrations. His artwork, set, and costume design for Cecil B. DeMille's motion picture epic *The Ten Commandments* earned him an Oscar nomination and membership in England's distinguished Royal Society of Arts. Friberg continues to work from his studio in Salt Lake City, Utah.

Of all the Mountie artists, Friberg best captured the spirit of the North-West Mounted Police as he strove to illustrate their intense devotion to duty and sense of absolute justice. In testimony to his realistic and accurate illustrations, the RCMP made Friberg an honorary Mountie during the historic law enforcement agency's 1973 centennial.

Similarly demonstrating the importance of the RCMP's high esteem for Friberg's renditions of Mounties, the Canadian government commissioned him to paint a nearly life-size portrait of Prince Charles during the RCMP's centennial year. He spent six weeks at London's Buckingham Palace for sessions with the prince. Appropriately, the portrait's unveiling took place in the Northwest Territories in 1979.

The Mountie's admiration for Friberg surfaced yet again this past June when the artist and his new bride exchanged vows in an official Mounted Police wedding in Vancouver, British Columbia.

Northwest Paper Mountie calendars remain popular today. Potlatch daily receives calendar requests, more than half of which come from Canada, and many from RCMP members.

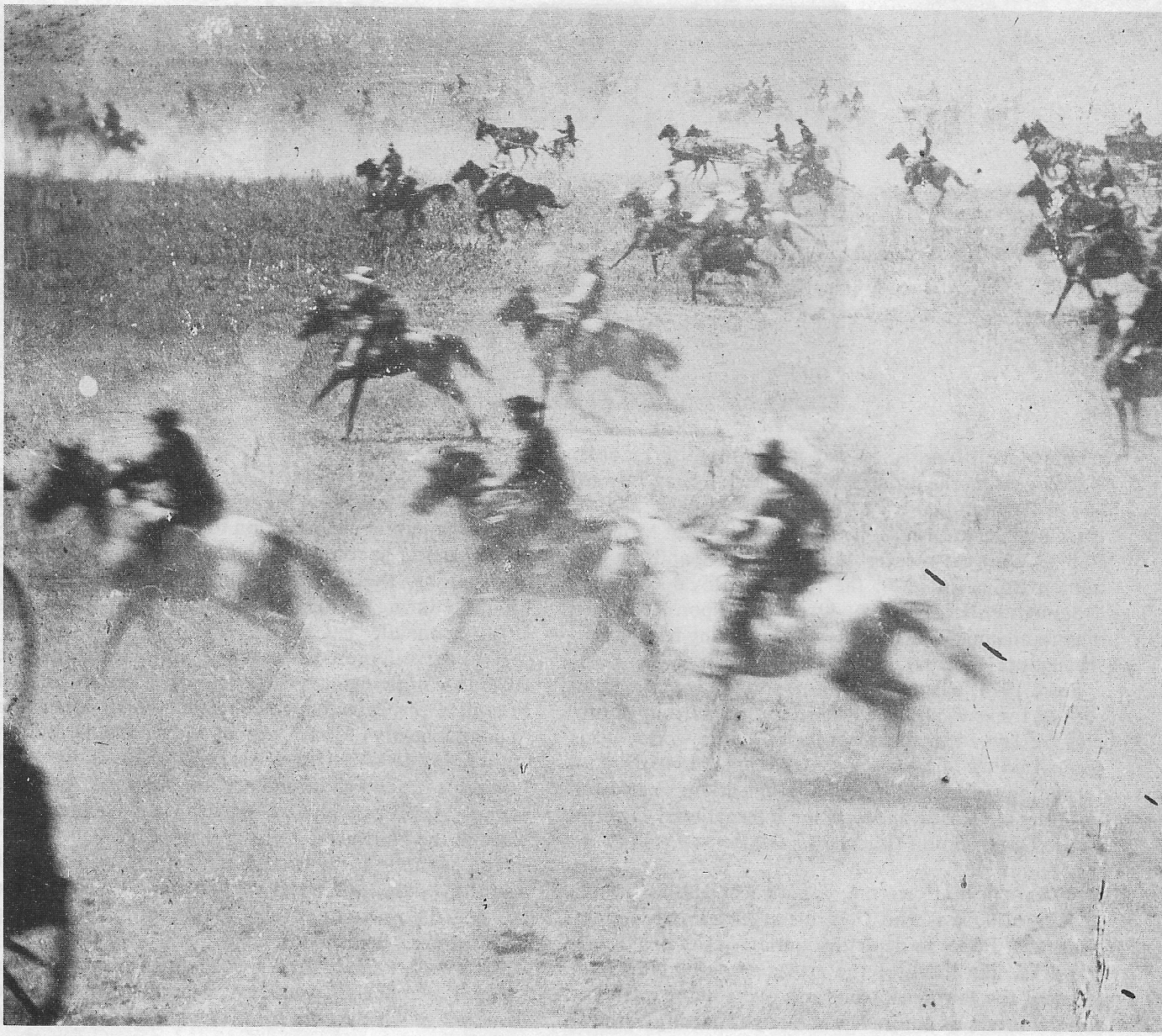
Additional public awareness of this noteworthy art collection is assured during 1990 and 1991, when, according to Tweed Museum curator Martin W. DeWitt, several recently restored Mountie paintings will go on tour at museums throughout the United States and Canada. ★

Richard J. Maturi is a free-lance writer working out of Cleveland, Ohio.

The Tweed Museum of Art, home of the Northwest Paper Mountie Collection, is located at 10 University Drive, Duluth, Minnesota, and is open Tuesday through Sunday (9:00 A.M. to 4:00P.M. weekdays and 1:00 to 5:00 P.M. weekends.

Regina, Saskatchewan, is home of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Centennial Museum. Attractions there include the historic RCMP Chapel built in 1883 and many exhibits of RCMP memorabilia. Admission is free, and hours of operation are daily from 8:00 A.M. to 8:45 P.M. June 1 to September 15, and 8:00 A.M. to 4:45 P.M. the rest of the year.

ARNOLD FRIBERG PAINTINGS COURTESY OF THE TWEED MUSEUM OF ART, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, DULUTH
COPY PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY OF THE NORTHWEST PAPER DIVISION, POTLATCH CORPORATION, AND LAKE SUPERIOR CUSTOM PHOTO LAB, DULUTH



The Great Oklahoma Land Rush of 1889

by Stan Hoig

White men had long coveted the lands of the Indian Territory, and on April 22, 1889 they got their chance to occupy part of it in a wild, chaotic dash for 160-acre homesteads.

LAND-SEEKERS RACE TO OBTAIN CLAIMS IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY; THIS PHOTOGRAPH OF THE OPENING OF THE CHEROKEE OUTLET ON SEPTEMBER 16, 1893 DEPICTS A SCENE ALMOST IDENTICAL TO THAT ACCOMPANYING THE REGION'S FIRST LAND RUSH ON APRIL 22, 1889.

EDNA HELM was twenty-one, unmarried, and knew that her chances for a husband and a happy future in Logan County, Kentucky were not the brightest. For weeks she had been reading in the newspapers about the new country in Oklahoma—an area of some two million acres known officially as the Unassigned Lands of the Indian Territory—that was about to be opened for settlement. The more she read about it, the more "pepped up" she became.

So what if it was the wild West? So what if she was a woman? This was 1889, and Helm was as eligible as anyone to make a claim. There was no reason, she felt, why she could not "make the run" for a homestead and begin a new life.

So Helm packed her bags and caught a train west to Arkansas City, Kansas, which bordered the Indian Territory. She found the town overflowing with rough-looking men carrying Winchesters, slick gamblers, real estate brokers, lawyers, and hawkers on every corner. Not a hotel, house, tent, or shack had extra room. Helm walked the hot, dusty streets with her heavy valises until she finally sat down beneath a tree to rest.

A man walked up to her and said that his name was Martin Ahrens. He was a widower and badly needed someone to care for his three children while he made the run into Oklahoma. Helm said she had hoped to make the run, too, but now realized how slim were her chances. She didn't even have a horse.

Ahrens made a proposition. If Helm would take care of his children, he would make the run and stake a claim. Then, if she were willing, they could get married and share the new homestead.

Helm agreed, and Ahrens took her to a friend's house.

BROWN BROTHERS, STERLING, PENNSYLVANIA

Within days he made the run, succeeded in obtaining a homestead, and returned for her. They were married by a justice of the peace and set out in a covered wagon for their new home.

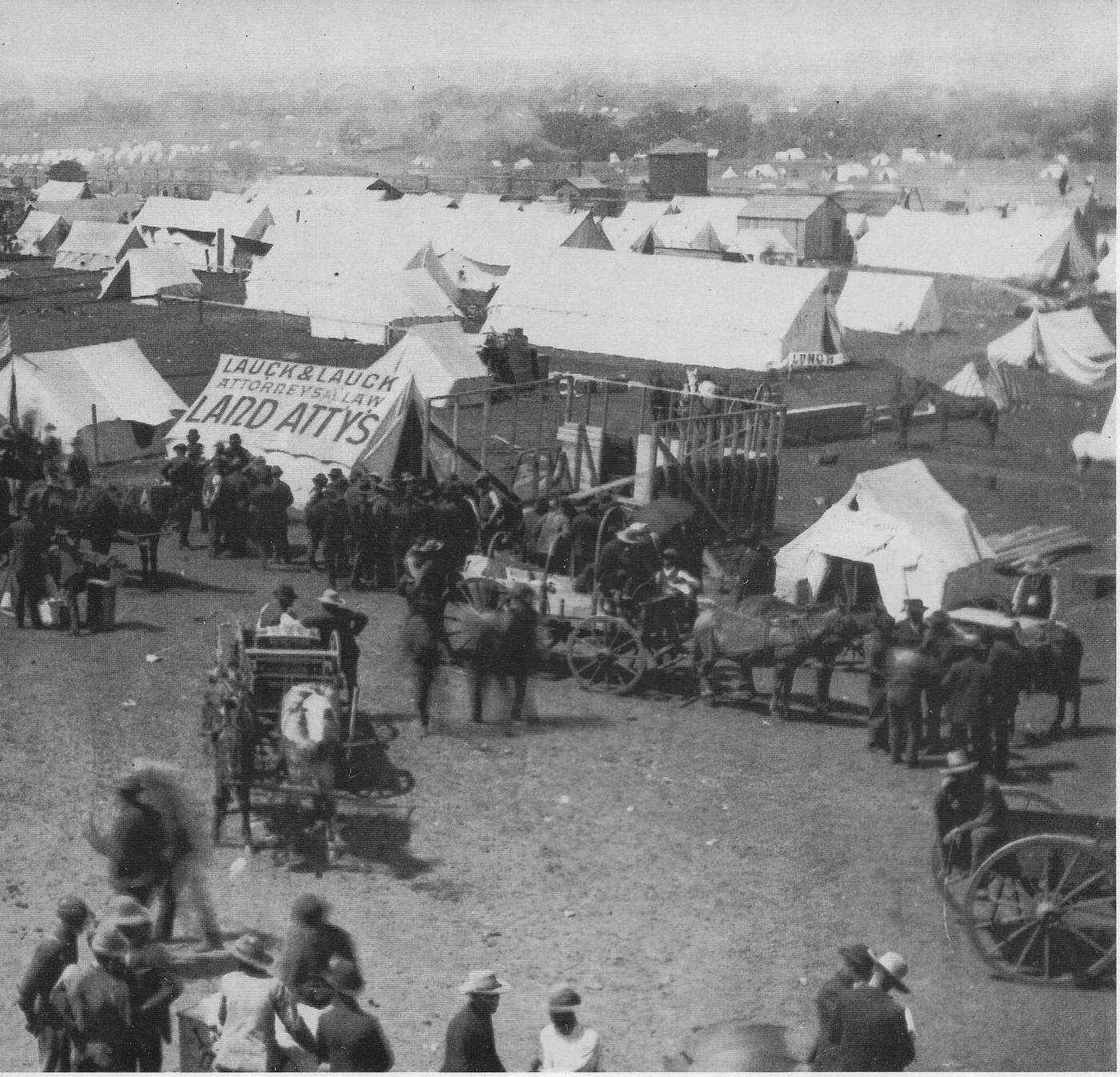
FOR MORE THAN A MONTH, from late March to late April 1889, the major story in American newspapers was the opening of the Unassigned Lands to white settlement. Also known as the "Oklahoma District" or simply the "Oklahoma lands," this thirty-five by fifty-mile tract near the center of the Indian Territory* had not been assigned to any specific tribe in government treaties with the Indians who occupied the reserve during the 1860s.

The Unassigned Lands had been the focus of public interest and controversy for nearly ten years. Kansan David L. Payne and his Oklahoma "boomers" had made numerous illegal forays into the District in attempts to colonize it, and he and others had persistently agitated in the press and lobbied in Congress to secure the opening of the Oklahoma lands.

The government had resisted these pressures, and pro-settlement legislation had repeatedly failed. But in February 1889 congressional supporters shrewdly attached an amendment to the annual Indian Appropriation Bill. This legislation funded the opening of the Unassigned Lands, subject to a proclamation by the president.

On March 22, newly elected President Benjamin Harrison signed the proclamation. The general public would be permitted to line up on the borders of the Oklahoma District at high noon on April 22 and make a run for 160-acre homesteads or lots in the towns to be built there. Potential settlers were prohibited from en-

**Encompassing much of present-day Oklahoma, the Indian Territory was a vast reserve to which dozens of Indian tribes had been relocated from their ancestral homelands over the course of the previous seventy years.*



tering the District early, even to select a site.

Land! To the multitude of desperately poor agrarians of the day, the word was magic. The prospect of obtaining Oklahoma land fostered a mania similar to the California and Colorado gold rushes. With land a man could be his own master, possess his own home, make his own destiny.

"It is an astonishing thing," observed the *New York Herald*, "that men will fight harder for $500 worth of land than they will for $10,000 in money."

The excitement was by no means limited to farmers. Tradesmen, professional men, common laborers, and capitalists alike looked to the cornucopia of opportunity the opening provided. Groups of Oklahoma colonists formed in almost every major city from New York to California. Prospective settlers and townspeople hitched teams to wagons loaded with their worldly goods, saddled their fastest horses, or caught trains bound for advantageous entry points.

Between ten and fifteen thousand claim-seekers descended on Guthrie, the future territorial capital and site of one of two land offices in the Oklahoma District. This panoramic view across Oklahoma Avenue, just five days after the run, reveals the disorder of wagons, tents, and people as three-card monte and shell-game operators work the crowd. When "the myriad of white tents suddenly appeared upon the face of the country," noted an observer, "it was as though a vast flock of huge white-winged birds had just settled down upon the hillsides and in the valley."

Principal among the entry sites were the south-Kansas border towns of Arkansas City and Caldwell, located some seventy miles north of the District, and the Indian Territory cow town of Purcell, just across the line from the south end of the soon-to-be occupied region. Each

town was jammed with land-seekers—farmers from the Midwest, miners from the East, loggers from the North, and merchants, clerks, lawyers, gamblers, and land promoters from all points.

On the outskirts of these and other border towns accumulated a vast army of luckless families who lived in rickety old wagons drawn by emaciated horses and oxen. Many of them belonged to the legion of "old boomers" who had suffered for months and even years in anticipation of moving into Oklahoma.

LAND-SEEKERS along the Kansas line were restrained by the military until April 18, when they were permitted to move south across the Cherokee Outlet (a sixty-mile-wide strip of land claimed by the Cherokee nation) to the northern border of the District. On that day, long, snaking caravans of covered wagons began their three-day journey.

From Caldwell a procession of cavalry, wagons, and horsemen moved down the old Chisholm Cattle Trail. A Kansan living near the trail counted 1,153 wagons the first day. When the exodus went into camp at Buffalo Springs three days later on Easter Sunday, it included an estimated ten thousand farmers, laborers, cowboys from Cherokee Outlet ranches, old soldiers proudly wearing Grand Army of the Republic badges, women, children, teamsters, and cavalrymen. During the day, religious services, foot and horse racing, wrestling, baseball, and shooting contests occupied the exuberant crowd.

An even larger caravan of wagons and riders moved south from Arkansas City, following the Ponca Trail and the right-of-way for the Atchison, Topeka and

Recommended additional reading: The Oklahoma Land Rush of 1889 *by Stan Hoig (Oklahoma Historical Society, 1984) and* David L. Payne, the Oklahoma Boomer *by Stan Hoig (Western Heritage Books, 1980).*

PHOTOGRAPH FROM THE WESTERN HISTORY COLLECTIONS, UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA LIBRARY, NORMAN; PRINT COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN WEST MAGAZINE, TUCSON

The first businesses of the new towns operated out of tents, as did the Palace Hotel and Restaurant of Guthrie (above). "It seems that you were always waiting your turn," recalled one Guthrie resident of these early days. "You waited your turn to file on the land. You waited your turn to get a bucket of water, or waited your turn in a restaurant to get something to eat. Just about anything you wanted to do, you waited your turn."

Santa Fe Railroad. This rail line, completed in the spring of 1887, ran from Arkansas City to Gainesville, Texas, and cut straight through the District.

To cross the flooded Salt Fork of the Arkansas River, the Arkansas City emigrants had to tear up a shed and lay planks on the railroad bridge. A double line of wagons backed up for miles waiting to cross. More than seven thousand people and two thousand teams of horses crossed the bridge that day. When the border was finally reached, the settlers fired volley after volley in celebration. Many set up camp near where the railroad crossed the line; others fanned out to the east and west.

At Purcell, about fifty miles to the south, hundreds of impoverished families had gathered. They hailed mostly from the South, Texas, and eastern Indian Territory. Some waited in wagon camps or dugouts along Walnut Creek. Others spread northwestward along the meandering Canadian River, which formed the southern border of the District. Clusters of land-seekers gathered at various wagon crossings as far west as the cattle trail town of Silver City.

A large number of the Purcell crowd headed north along the Indian Meridian line, which marked the eastern boundary of the Unassigned Lands, separating Oklahoma from the Pottawatomie, Kickapoo, and Iowa reservations. Unlike the north and west borders of the District, the south and east sides were not monitored

Business boomed at the Walker and McCoy Sign Company of Guthrie, its products reflecting the attendant professions and services that accompanied the settlers into Oklahoma.

by cavalry troops. As a result, many people entered the rush area early, earning themselves the then-unsavory title of "moonlighters" or later, "sooners."

These "sooners" concealed themselves in gullies, thickets, and box cars. Some lathered their horses with soap to give the appearance of a hard run; others tried to get away with early entry by dressing as Indians and dying their hair and beards.

A bevy of "legal insiders," were already in the District—railroad men, carpenters sent in to build the land offices, woodcutters, teamsters, soldiers, and federal officials—many of whom would make illegal claims. Even some U.S. marshals who were assigned the task of keeping law and order would succumb to land fever and grab claims.

WHEN APRIL TWENTY-SECOND DAWNED as a beautifully clear spring day, the Oklahoma country was a land surrounded. All around its borders the smoke of campfires swirled skyward as nervous, grim-faced claim-seekers, perhaps fifty thousand strong, prepared to make their great dash. The largest group gathered on the line at a point north of the Santa Fe's Guthrie Station. Another large crowd toed the line north of the old Kingfisher stage station, and others massed on the western border near Fort Reno. These groups were held in check by troops, as was another sizeable invasion force at Purcell. Some smaller companies and loners broke off from the main caravans and made their way to the unguarded south and east lines.

In the rail-line towns of Arkansas City and Purcell, mobs pushed forward to board trains that would take

them to prospective townsites in the District. Claim-seekers jammed in the doors, hung from the windows, clutched at the boarding rails, clung to the car tops. The first Arkansas City special, which would have to cross the Cherokee Outlet to reach the District, pulled out from the depot at 8:47 A.M. Among its cargo was a freight car loaded with reporters. Seven other specials would follow in turn, leaving trails of smoke across the blue sky of the Outlet.

At Purcell, the regular northbound passenger train passed through at around 11 A.M., but its engineer refused to stop for the howling crowd. Shortly thereafter a twelve-car train pulled in; within minutes a thousand or more land-seekers crowded aboard. A second train was also loaded and then joined with the first behind double engines. This "Boomer Train" moved up the tracks to the Canadian River bridge, where it waited for Army Lieutenant Sam Adair, whose cavalry troops had arrived at Purcell the previous day, to give the signal to enter the District.

All around the rim of the Oklahoma lands, horses pranced and whinnied nervously, men gripped their reins with iron determination and threw anxious glances at their watches, bonneted women and barefoot children watched in anticipation from camps under blackjack clumps, and blue-jacketed cavalry troops moved into position facing the straining line. The signal to enter would be given by a bugle call, a rifle or pistol shot, or, as was the case at Fort Reno, the firing of a cannon. Unfairly, along the unguarded south and east boundaries each man was free to choose his own moment.

AT THE STROKE OF NOON, pure chaos erupted. The sounds of gunfire, cracking whips, snapping reins, cursing drivers, whooping horsemen, and cheering spectators all melded into the thunder of hundreds of animals and wagons lurching forward simultaneously. The great land rush of 1889 was on!

Most of those making the run wanted one of the ten thousand farm homesteads available at $1.25 per acre,* but there were many others just as eager to obtain a lot in a promising townsite. The Santa Fe stations that had been lonely outposts in the Unassigned Lands for the past two years were the most favored locations. Guthrie Station, the site of one of the two land offices in the District and the anticipated location for the territorial capital, was the first choice for many of the newcomers. Old-time "boomers"—led by William L. Couch after Payne's death in 1884—had a strong preference for Oklahoma Station. Other settlers liked Kingfisher, site of the second land office. But the majority of the land-seekers, who had never set foot inside Oklahoma, made the rush blindly, hoping for the best.

Settlers making prescribed improvements on their homesteads and living there for five years gained title to the land without cost; the $1.25-per-acre fee applied if one wished to obtain title to the land before fulfilling the required span of residency.

The goal of most homesteaders was to locate good, rich bottom land without many trees to clear. But what most of them found, often to their surprise and chagrin, was hard-packed ocher soil covered with scrub oak or buffalo grass. Many would spend this first night by their campfires under the stars wondering if they had done the right thing.

"Are you going to stay?" discouraged Pat McGinty later asked of his neighbor William Fry.

"I've got to stay," Fry answered. "I haven't any place else to go."

Many stuck it out, building their first dugout or log cabin, putting up fences for their stock, breaking the sod for gardens and crops, digging wells, toughing out those first difficult years. Others left in disgust, gaining the title of "goners" to match the Oklahoma nicknames of "boomer" and "sooner."

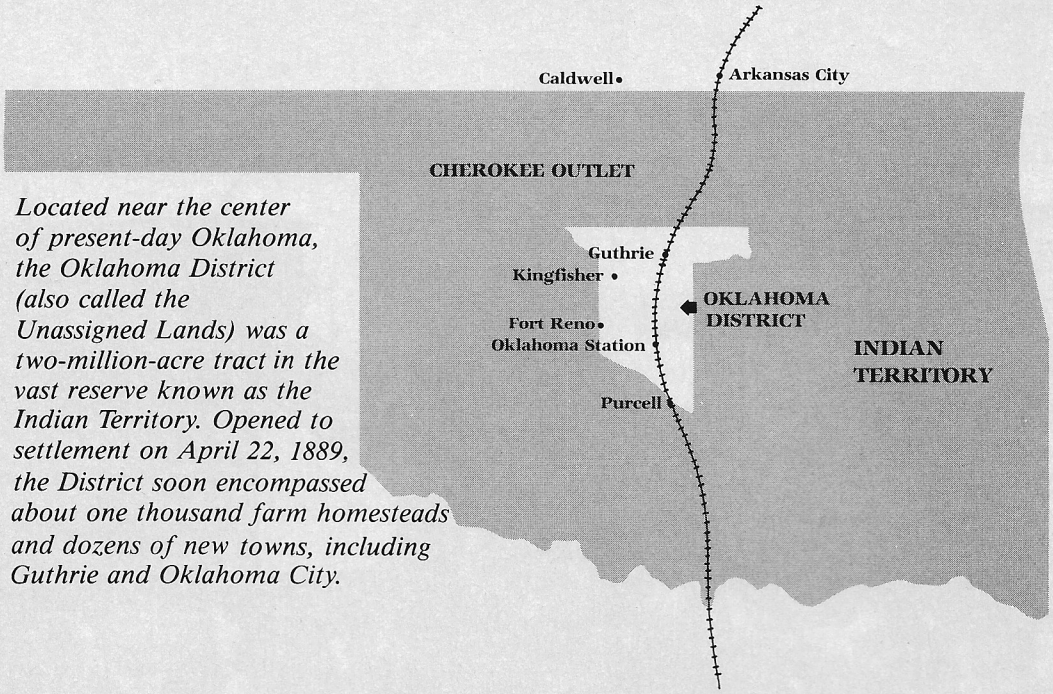
A few blacks joined the April 22 dash for home-

Conflicting town surveys and multiple claims for the same lots created havoc and often brought forth angry crowds. Such contests were generally settled by local arbitration boards. Here, new Oklahomans watch with interest as squatters are ejected from contested property on Guthrie's South Second Street. By this time—just a month after the run—the town had already taken on an appearance of permanence.

steads, but not many. Blacks were still restrained from such public participation by the racial mores of the day. Still, a number of them followed behind the initial rush and obtained good homesteads passed over by earlier land-seekers. Black colonists from Kansas settled north of the Cimarron River above Kingfisher, naming their town Lincoln.

THE MANIA TO BUILD NEW TOWNS was almost as strong as the homesteading fever. Never before had so many towns come into being in such a brief time. Almost overnight, scores of sites were staked out, and tents and frame buildings sprang up on the prairie. Hotels, restaurants, saloons, mercantile and grocery stores, banks, real estate agencies, law offices, newspapers, stables, lumberyards, laundries, and undertaking parlors suddenly sprouted on what had been Indian hunting grounds where great herds of buffalo once grazed.

Officials of the Santa Fe line, who had long since learned that good profits lay in town development, had formed a private company called the Seminole Townsite and Improvement Company. Surveyors were sent in to station locations before the run to lay out townsite plats. Then, on the day of the run, they were permitted to return ahead of the rush and stake out the townsites. Lots were sold based on these surveys. But many settlers made their own surveys and plats, and much confusion and conflict ensued in places such as Oklahoma City



Located near the center of present-day Oklahoma, the Oklahoma District (also called the Unassigned Lands) was a two-million-acre tract in the vast reserve known as the Indian Territory. Opened to settlement on April 22, 1889, the District soon encompassed about one thousand farm homesteads and dozens of new towns, including Guthrie and Oklahoma City.

(formerly Oklahoma Station), Edmond, and Guthrie before matters were eventually resolved.

An estimated ten to fifteen thousand "eighty-niners" inhabited Guthrie during its first days of existence, and nearly ten thousand more populated Oklahoma City. Some of the new Oklahoma settlements thrived; others were "bubble towns" that just didn't take and eventually faded away, usually for want of a railroad.

There had been considerable concern about possible violence during the run. Most men were armed with either a rifle or six-gun. Yet strangely, little conflict took place during the rush itself. That would come later as claimants fought one another in court, where thousands of "sooner" cases from the run of 1889 would clog the legal system for years. Arbitration began at the land office level, where the registrar of deeds and receiver of moneys rendered initial decisions. Some cases went all the way to the United States Supreme Court.

Often, while their cases dragged on for years, bitter enemies lived side-by-side on the same claim. Such was the case of "boomer" leader William Couch, whose claim in the heart of Oklahoma City was acrimoniously contested by J.C. Adams. The rancor grew until Adams eventually shot Couch in the knee, leading to Couch's death from gangrene. In the end, neither man's claim was accepted, both having been "sooners."

Couch had claimed that legally he was not in Oklahoma early, having remained on the railroad right-of-way until high noon on April 22. But a Supreme Court decision on the Smith-Townsend case, which involved land claims in the city of Edmond, ruled that such a pretext was illegal entry. Most of the old "boomers" lost their choice claims because of this decision.

Perjury was rampant in the "sooner" contests. Men who had entered illegally formed "combinations" to lie for one another. This practice was abetted by lawyers who told their clients it was not illegal to lie before the land office officials. In some cases, witnesses were bribed or bailed out of jail to give false support. The term "sooner" became so derogatory that Ira Terrill of Stillwater shot and killed a man who accused him of being one.

AS THE INDIANS KNEW IT WOULD BE, the opening of the Oklahoma District was only the first of the great giveaways of Indian territory. Block-by-block the Indian lands would fall: the Pottawatomie, Shawnee, Sac & Fox, and Iowa reserves in 1891; the Cheyenne and Arapaho country in 1892; the Cherokee Outlet, plus lands of the Tonkawas and Pawnees in 1893; the Kickapoo reserves in 1895; the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache-Wichita-Caddo reserve in 1901; the Ponca Otto-Missouri holdings in 1904; and in 1906, the Osage and Kaw lands and the Big Pasture country.

All of these, plus the "No-Man's Land" of the Panhandle and Greer County, would comprise the Territory of Oklahoma, which in 1907 was joined with the remaining Indian Territory as Oklahoma, the forty-sixth state.

For the Indians, the run of 1889 was fatal to tribal identity and autonomy. But to whites it was a grand and glorious event, a historic moment in the lives of those who came and found homes, a triumph of American enterprise and opportunism—with more than a little chicanery and some outright larceny. ★

Stan Hoig, professor emeritus at Central State University in Oklahoma, is the author of numerous articles and several books in the fields of Indian and western history. His 1984 book, The Oklahoma Land Rush of 1889, *is available for $14.95 postpaid from the Oklahoma Historical Society, Wiley Post Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73105.*

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"An Office of Unprofitable Dignity"

Continued from page 23

vehicle by which an orderly succession could be guaranteed if a president died or became disabled while in office. To have sought powers that were unintended would not only have proven fruitless, but probably would have been detrimental to Adams's continued political aspirations. Thus, for two terms, he was a quiet, loyal vice president who bided his time until Washington stepped down.

ADAMS BEQUEATHED TWO LEGACIES to his immediate successors. Jefferson emulated Adams's practice of frequently absenting himself from the capital; he even considered the possibility of taking the oath of office at Monticello and not even traveling to Philadelphia until Congress assembled nine months later.

Adams's elevation from the vice-presidency to the presidency established another precedent. Jefferson succeeded Adams, and Jefferson's vice president, James Madison, followed him into the White House. Ironically, this pattern was broken only when John Quincy Adams succeeded James Monroe after the election of 1824, moving up from his position as secretary of state.

Adams's pending accession to the presidency, the pinnacle of American political life, overjoyed him and assured him that his years in the vice-presidency had been worthwhile. The office, Abigail told him, would be a "flattering and Glorious Reward" for his years of toil and sacrifice. Adams was confident that he could measure up to the "treacherous" ordeal that lay ahead. He had "never felt more serene in his life," he wrote home, and his letters took on an unusually animated character as he awaited Inauguration Day. "Hi! Ho! Oh Dear," he greeted Abigail, suddenly buoyant and unrestrained.

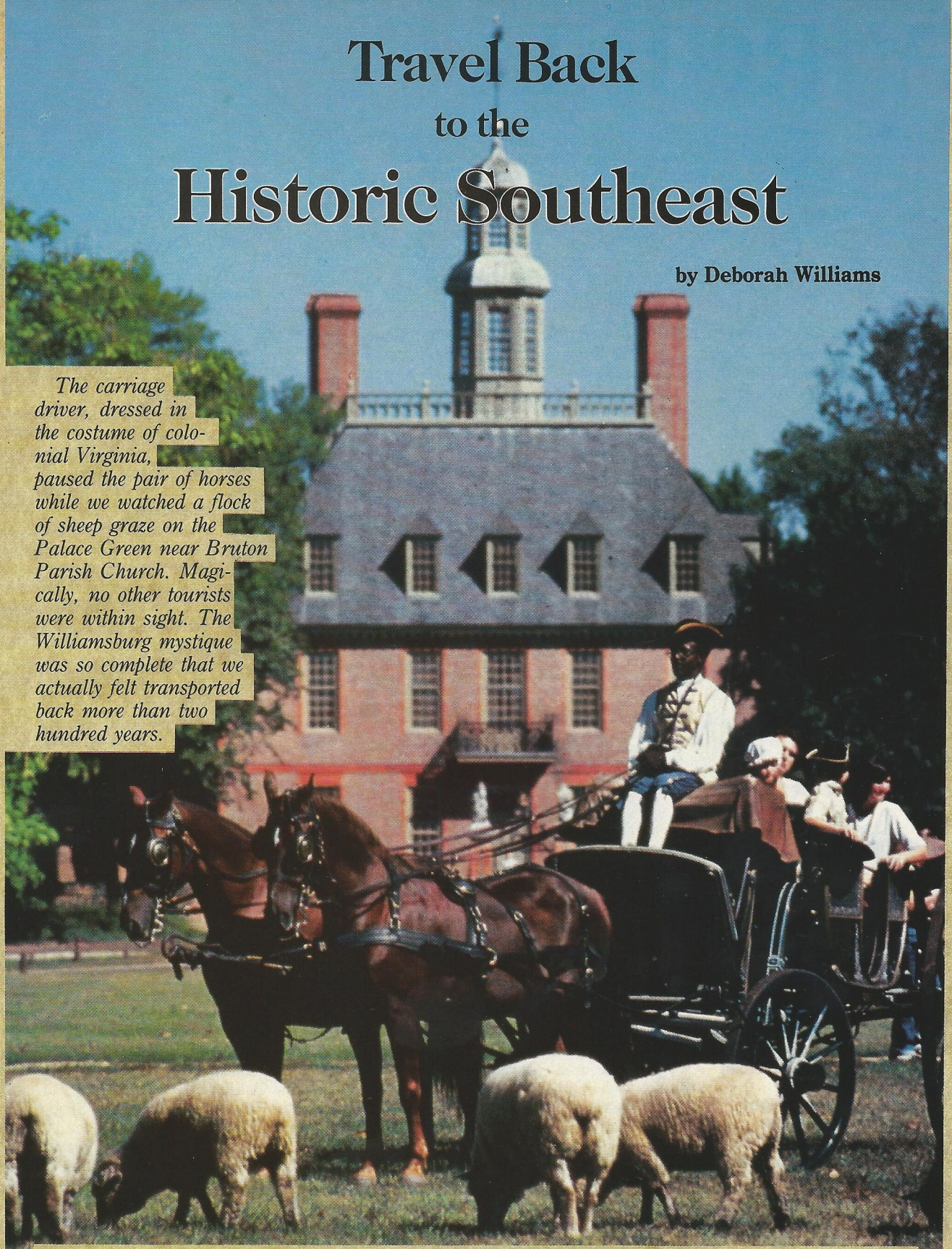
As March 4 neared, however, Adams grew more apprehensive and found that sleep came with greater difficulty. But he was ready. On the appointed day, dressed in a pearl-colored suit, with his hair well powdered and a sword strapped to his side, Adams rode in a newly purchased carriage (the first acquisition he made with his new $25,000 yearly salary) to the Capitol. There, with Jefferson and Washington standing beside him, he took the oath of office in a simple ceremony.

He had studied Washington's demeanor during the festivities, he wrote Abigail, and with some alarm he concluded that the outgoing president appeared to be saying to him: "Ah! I am fairly out and you fairly in! See which of us will be happiest." ★

Professor of history at West Georgia College, John E. Ferling is author of The First of Men: A Life of George Washington, *published last year by the University of Tennessee Press. He is presently completing a biography of John Adams.*

Travel Back to the Historic Southeast

by Deborah Williams



The carriage driver, dressed in the costume of colonial Virginia, paused the pair of horses while we watched a flock of sheep graze on the Palace Green near Bruton Parish Church. Magically, no other tourists were within sight. The Williamsburg mystique was so complete that we actually felt transported back more than two hundred years.

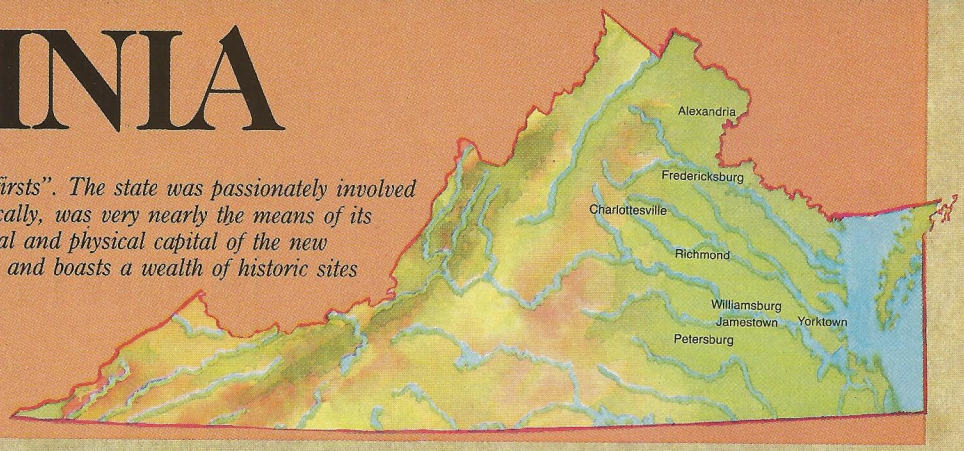
The Southeast is rich in history and rich in possibilities for experiencing the life of another era. Restorations of entire communities from earlier times such as Williamsburg, plus museums, battlefields, monuments, and historic homes and buildings await closer inspection. Warm, hospitable people who are proud of their land and their heritage invite visitors to sample old-fashioned Southern hospitality. This region still maintains strong ties to its past.

History comes alive as we travel through Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina. On this trip we'll visit only the historical highlights, but there's much more to see and do. In future issues we plan to travel to historic sites in other Southeastern states. Let the special spirit of the historic Southeast draw you back again and again.

VA Div. of Tourism

VIRGINIA

Virginia claims a long series of "firsts". The state was passionately involved in creating a new nation and, ironically, was very nearly the means of its destruction. Virginia was the spiritual and physical capital of the new Union and later of the Confederacy, and boasts a wealth of historic sites from both periods.



Jamestown, Virginia, founded in 1607, was the first permanent English settlement in the New World. The town, plus the Yorktown Battlefield, Cape Henry Memorial, and the Colonial Parkway form the Colonial National Historical Park. Yorktown, established in 1691, became a busy and important eighteenth-century seaport, but is best remembered for the seige of 1781 during the Revolutionary War. It was also an important battle site during the Civil War.

Adjacent to Jamestown is the Jamestown Festival Park, a living history museum where ceremonies and presentations are performed hourly by costumed interpreters wearing the colorful garb of the early Jamestown settlers. The *Susan Constant, Godspeed* and *Discovery,* replicas of the vessels that carried the first settlers to Virginia, are moored in the James River. Guides tell narratives of the voyage.

Reenactors at the Petersburg Nat'l Battlefield commemorate the Civil War's most decisive campaign.

Petersburg, VA Dept. of Tourism

Nearby stands Williamsburg, which became the seat of Virginia government in 1699. The streets, buildings, taverns, and shops have been preserved or reconstructed exactly the way they were when George Washington, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, George Mason, and other patriots met here and shaped this country's future.

The only major concessions to the twentieth century are modern-day plumbing and the absence of barnyard animals mingling with the townspeople. The historic area includes eighty-eight original eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century buildings. Another fifty major buildings and many smaller structures have been rebuilt on original sites after extensive research.

Plantation lovers should travel along the James River for their pick of great plantations. The area's outstanding examples include Berkeley (where the first Thanksgiving was actually celebrated), Shirley Plantation, and Sherwood Forest Plantation.

Traveling north, stop at Petersburg. British troops occupied the town during the Revolutionary War, and General Robert E. Lee made his last stand here before Appomattox. For ten months Lee and Grant struggled over this important industrial and transportation center. Today it is a storehouse of colonial and Civil War history. The Petersburg National Battlefield preserves Union and Confederate fortifications, trenches, and gun pits, and commemorates the war's most decisive campaign and the longest seige of any American city. Nearby, the Appomattox Court House National Historical Park preserves the village much as it looked in 1865 when General Lee surrendered there.

Richmond, Virginia's capital and the one-time capital of the Confederacy, is a gracious Southern city rich in history. Visit St. John's Church where Patrick Henry made his "liberty or death" speech. The State Capitol is home to a famous statue of Washington, and it was here that Lee accepted command of the forces of Virginia.

Agecroft Hall, an unusual historical attraction, was bult in England in the late fifteenth century and reassembled overlooking the James River in the 1920s. Open for tours, it boasts some magnificent gardens.

Continue north to Fredericksburg, another city steeped in colonial and Civil War history. This is where George Washington went to school and where his sister and mother lived. James Monroe practiced law in this town. The Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park encompasses four battlefields where the Battles of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Wilderness, and Spotsylvania Court House raged.

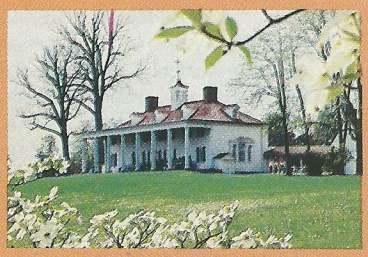
A classic in Colonial architecture, Kenmore stands proudly in the heart of Fredericksburg. Built by Colonel Fielding Lewis, an unsung hero of the Revolutionary War, the home features ornate plaster decorations which were a favorite of regular visitor George Washington.

Our Virginia historic tour ends in Alexandria, known as "The Cradle of History." Outside of town is Manassas (Bull Run) National Battlefield Park, the scene of two major Civil War battles and the place where Confederate General "Stonewall" Jackson earned his nickname.

Alexandria was home to Washington and to George Mason, father of the Bill of

Rights. Ramsay House, built in 1724 and the oldest dwelling in town, now houses the Tourist Council. Carlyle House was the site of a 1755 meeting of British colonels to plan the early campaigns of the French and Indian War. The Boyhood Home of Robert E. Lee is here too.

Before planning your trip to Virginia, call the Division of Tourism for its "Civil War Battlefield Guide" and "Virginia Travel Guide" at 1-800-VISIT-VA, or write them at 202 North 9th Street, Suite 500, Richmond, VA 23219.



VA Div. of Tourism

George Washington Slept Here

Virginians take great pride in having sent more men to the White House than any other state. Eight Virginians served as president of the United States, beginning with the father of our country, George Washington. Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, William Henry Harrison, John Tyler, Zachary Taylor, and Woodrow Wilson were all native sons of Virginia.

Mount Vernon (above), just outside the nation's capital overlooking the Potomac River, was Washington's stately home. The mansion and museum there contain much of the estate's original furniture.

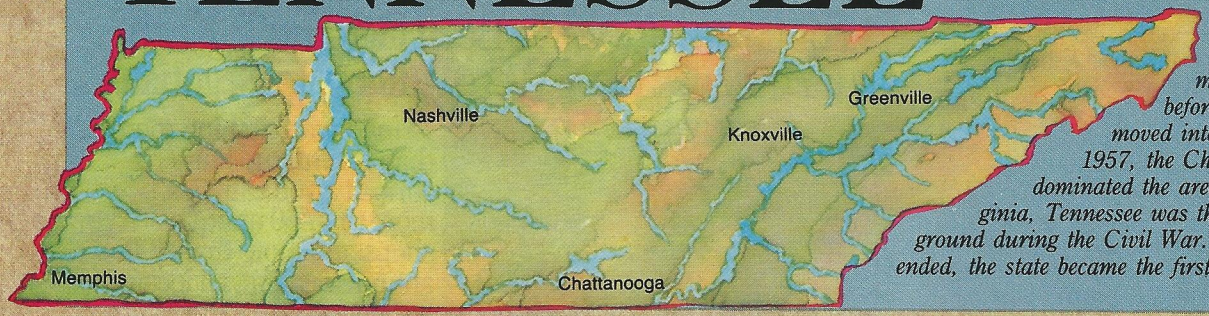
Charlottesville, in the center of the state, was the centerpiece of Thomas Jefferson's life. Here in his beloved Albemarle County, Jefferson built Monticello, a classic in American architecture. Nearby is Ash Lawn, home of James Monroe.

Near Williamsburg, along the James River, you come to the Sherwood Forest Plantation, one of the great river plantations and home of presidents Tyler and Harrison.

The birthplace of our eleventh president has been preserved at the James K. Polk Memorial Historic Site in Charlotte, North Carolina. Nashville, Tennessee, was the home of President Andrew Jackson and the Hermitage showcases his original furniture and personal effects. Greenville, Tennessee, is home to the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site which includes his early home, the national cemetery where he is buried, and the tailor shop where Johnson once worked.

For a detailed listing of presidential sites nationwide, be sure to pick up a copy of the April 1989 American History Illustrated, on sale at newsstands March 28.

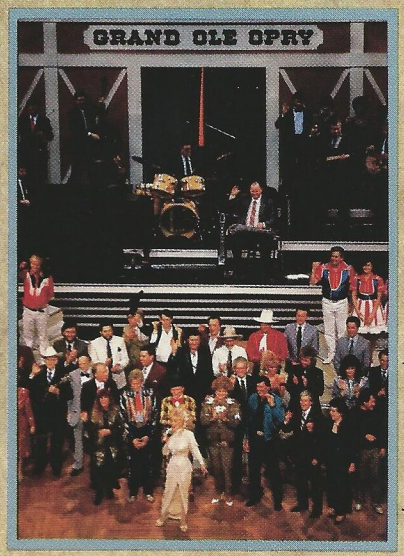
TENNESSEE



Tennessee is famous for music and is known as the headquarters of Country and Western music. But long before Elvis Presley moved into Graceland in 1957, the Cherokee Indians dominated the area. Next to Virginia, Tennessee was the prime battleground during the Civil War. When the war ended, the state became the first to re-enter the Union.

Chattanooga was the scene of several famous Civil War battles. From here General Sherman began his march to the sea through Georgia. The Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, which straddles the Tennessee-Georgia border, forms the oldest and largest military park administered by the U.S. National Park Service. More than 1,800 markers, monuments, cannons, and tablets indicate the battlelines and recount the story of the area.

To the west, Shiloh National Military Park preserves the site of the first western battle of the Civil War. Established in 1894 by the U.S. Congress, the park includes many sites of interest to Civil War scholars and buffs alike. Walk the battlefield; peruse literature of the era at the Civil War library; relive the experience through relics and maps in the exhibit room; and commemorate the Confederate and Union dead at the many monuments erected in their honor.



TN Dept. of Tourist Development

The Grand Old Opry hasn't missed a radio show since 1925.

Memphis has several sites of historic interest, including Mud Island, a tribute to the "Father of Waters," the Mississippi River. Exhibits include a museum of the Mississippi River and reproductions of river boats. The "River Walk" is a five-block long scale model of the entire Lower Mississippi River Valley, complete with twists, turns, bridges, levees, and the streets of twenty river towns in mosaic.

Near the western border of Tennessee north of Memphis is Henning, the hometown of Pulitzer Prize winning author Alex Haley. The small town was the setting for much of his highly acclaimed novel *Roots*, which was subsequently made into the much-touted mini-series. Haley's boyhood home has been restored to its 1919 appearance; memorabilia from both the book and movie are on display.

To the north is Fort Donelson National Battlefield, site of the first major Federal victory of the Civil War. Today the site contains the well-preserved fort, earthworks, rifle pits, and water batteries. The grounds also contain the National Cemetery with hundreds of Union dead and a monument to the Confederate soldiers who died there. The Dover Hotel, the scene of the surrender, has been restored and is open to the public.

Country music lovers would probably consider the Grand Ole Opry in Nashville a historic must. It's the oldest continuous radio program in America and hasn't missed a show since 1925. The city also boasts a number of other sites honoring its musical heritage, including the Country Music Hall of Fame and Museum and the Country Music Wax Museum.

Perhaps one Nashville's most unusual sites is the Parthenon, an exact reproduction of the ancient temple in Athens, Greece. Originally erected temporarily for the Tennessee Centennial Exposition, the permanent structure was completed in 1930. Careful measurements were made from the classic structure to assure accuracy.

Nearby Stones River National Battlefield marks one of the Civil War's bloodiest battles. Established by an Act of Congress in 1927, its 351 acres include high points of the battle. The National Cemetery contains Union burials, numerous tablets and markers, and the Hazen Brigade Monument. Erected in 1863, it's the

oldest Civil War memorial in the country.

Further to the west is Rutherford, site of the David Crockett Cabin. Many of the logs from the frontiersman's original home are included in the structure. Davy's handmade rocking chair is on display, as well as furniture, tools, and household utensils dating back to the early 1800s when he first moved to what was then a rugged section of the state.

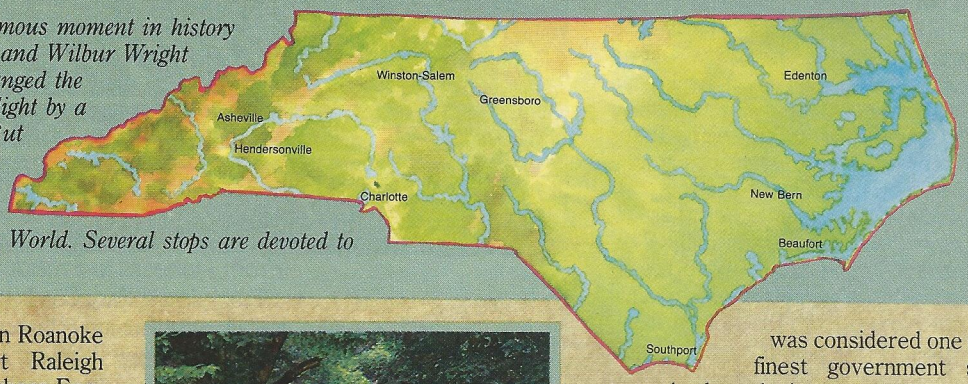
Knoxville has been an important crossroads ever since being founded by General James White in 1786. Visit a reconstruction of his fort, including his original cabin, for a trip back to the pioneer days. In addition to the Great House, other buildings include a guest house, blacksmith shop, loom house, smokehouse, and museum. Period tools, artifacts, and furniture furnish them.

The Armstrong Lockett House, built in 1834, is one of the city's oldest continuously occupied houses. It was named "Crescent Bend" because of its situation on a "crescent" of the Tennessee River in Knoxville. It has been restored and filled with eighteenth-century American and English furniture and is open for tours. The adjacent William P. Toms Memorial Gardens, extending from the house to the river, were completed in 1985.

For more information on traveling in Tennessee, contact the State Department of Tourist Development for its "Tennessee Vacation Guide." Call (615) 741-2158, or write to P.O. Box 23170, Nashville, TN 37202.

NORTH CAROLINA

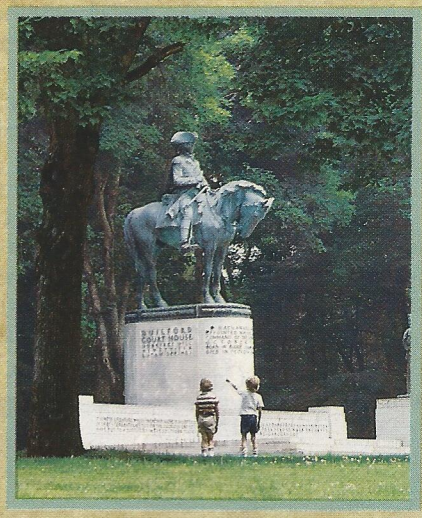
North Carolina's most famous moment in history came in 1903 when Orville and Wilbur Wright accomplished a feat that changed the world—the first sustained flight by a heavier-than-air machine. But the state's roots run deeper, and historic areas include the site of the first English colony attempted in the New World. Several stops are devoted to the state's famous writers.



The state's story began on Roanoke Island, now the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, where English settlers attempted the first colony in America. Although the colonists disappeared and their fate remains a mystery to this day, their fort has been excavated and reconstructed.

Nearby on the Outer Banks is the Wright Brothers National Memorial. On December 17, 1903, the magnificent first flight took place here; the takeoff and landing points are marked. Also along the Outer Banks is Beaufort, a colonial seaport with more than 125 century-old homes and historic sites. Nearby Edenton, one of the oldest communities in the state, has many houses and buildings from the 1700s.

The Tyron Palace Restoration and Garden Complex in New Bern, completed in 1770 as a residence and capitol building, was considered one of the finest government structures in the colonies.



NC Travel and Tourism Div.

The Guilford Courthouse Nat'l. Military Park honors those who fought there in the Revolutionary War.

Fort Fisher State Historic Site in Southport was the largest earthwork fort and the last major stronghold in the Confederacy. Brunswick Town-Fort Anderson State Historic Site was burned by the British in the Revolutionary War. Fort Anderson held out for a month during the Civil War, and the Bentonville Battleground was the scene of the last major Confederate offensive of the Civil War.

One of the state's most famous citizens was writer Thomas Wolfe. His home in Asheville has been preserved as a literary shrine. The city is also home to the famed Biltmore Estate, a 250-room home built by George W. Vanderbilt and now open to the public.

Another world-famous writer—Carl Sandburg—also lived in North Carolina, and his farm home has been preserved at the Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site in Hendersonville.

The Guilford Courthouse National Military Park in Greensboro honors the Americans who fought here during the Revolutionary War. Markers, a monument, and a visitor center-museum are located on this first battleground area to be preserved as a national military park.

Winston-Salem was founded in 1753 by the Moravians. Historic Bethabara Park, a village settled in the mid 1700s as the foothold of a cultural force that would play an important role in the development of the state, has restored buildings of the early period. Old Salem, a planned Moravian community, has been restored as well.

North Carolina boasts a splendid assortment of nineteenth-century coastal plantation estates. One of the finest, Somerset Place on Lake Phelps near Creswell, has been restored since 1951 using extensive documentary and archaeological research. The fourteen-room home that was once a gathering place for fashionable society is now open for tours.

The state of North Carolina publishes the "North Carolina Historic Sites" travel guide. To receive a copy, call 1-800-VISIT-NC or write North Carolina Travel and Tourism at 430 North Salisbury Street, Raleigh, NC 27611.

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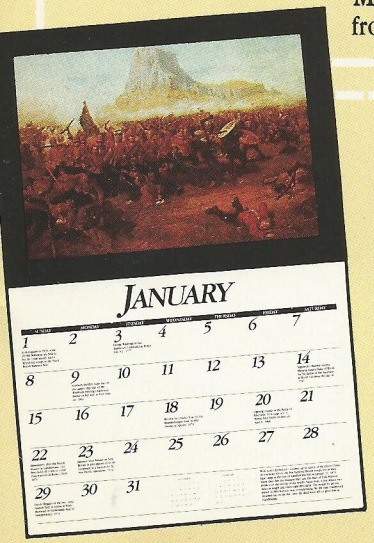

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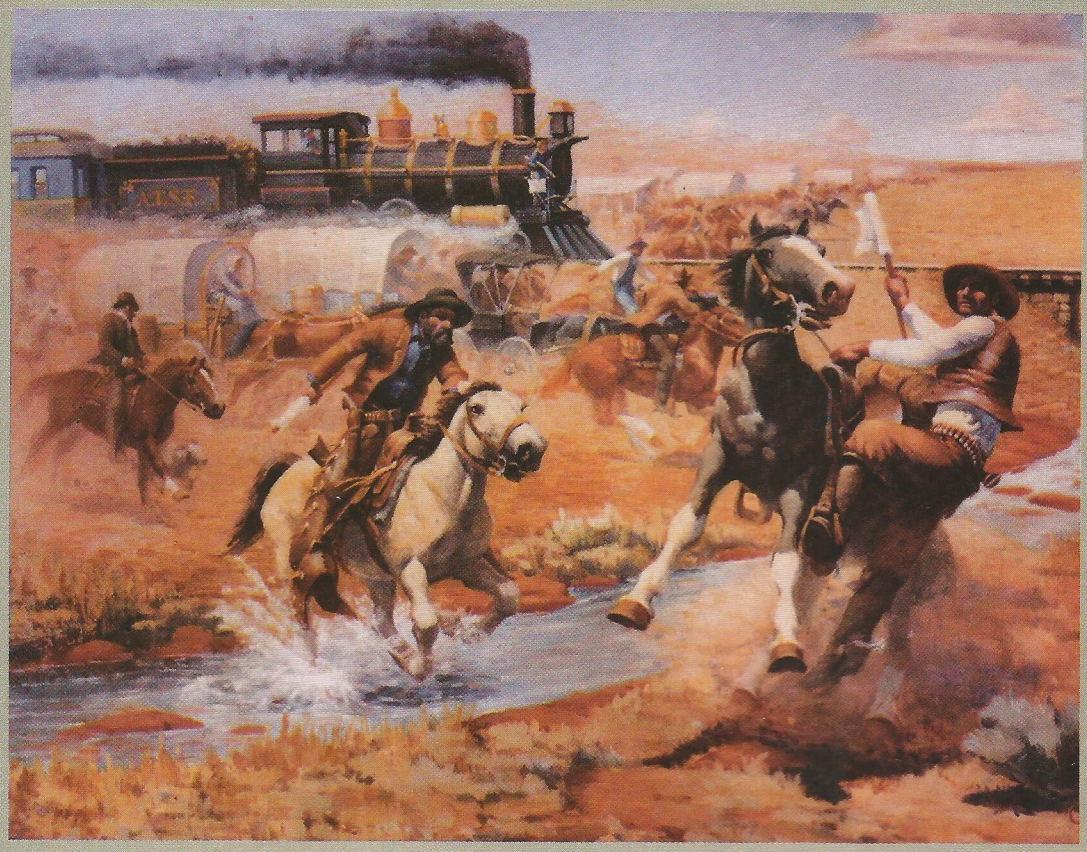

During the nineteenth century dozens of Indian tribes were relocated by the government from their ancestral lands to a vast reserve, now part of Oklahoma, that became known as the "Indian Territory." Although promised to the Indians for "as long as the grass grows or the water runs," this region, like most Indian lands, was soon coveted by the white man. And, one hundred years ago next month—on April 22, 1889—a two-million-acre tract of the preserve, called the "Unassigned Lands" or "Oklahoma District," was opened for settlement. G.N. Taylor's painting above depicts the pandemonium that resulted when some fifty thousand land-seekers raced into the tract to claim 160-acre homesteads or lots in towns being created there. An article and portfolio on the Oklahoma Land Rush of 1889 appears in this issue.

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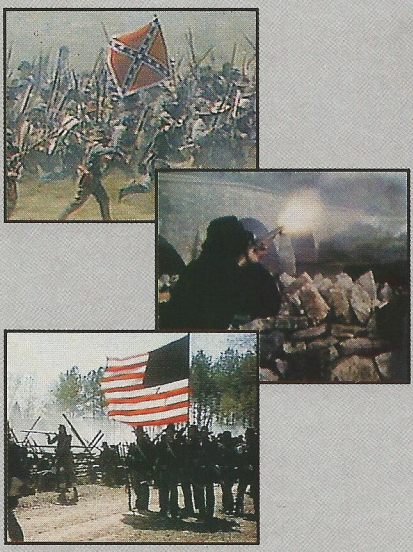

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